

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER'S SPEECH.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Chairman, it affords me much pleasure to rise for the purpose of submitting a motion to this House in relation to the most important question that has ever engaged the attention of this Parliament—a motion which submits for the approval of this House the means by which the great national work, the Canadian Pacific Railway, shall be completed and operated hereafter, in a way that has more than once obtained the approval of this House, and the sanction of the people of this country, and upon terms more favorable than any that have ever previously been offered to the House. I shall be obliged, Mr. Chairman, to ask the indulgence of the House while at some considerable length I place before it the grounds upon which I affirm that this resolution embodies the policy of the Parliament of Canada as expressed on more than one occasion, and that these resolutions present terms for the consideration of this Parliament, for the completion of this work, more favorable than any previously submitted; and, Sir, I have the less hesitation in asking the indulgence of the House, because I ask it mainly for the purpose of repeating to the House statements made by gentlemen of much greater ability than myself, and occupying positions in this House and country second to no other. But for what took place here yesterday I would have felt warranted in expressing the opinion that the resolutions, grave and important as they are, would receive the unanimous consent of this Parliament.

Mr. BLAKE. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I would, I say, have been warranted in arriving at that conclusion—but for the very significant indications that were made from the other side

of the House—because these resolutions only ask hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House to affirm a proposition to which they have again and again, as public men, committed themselves. I need not remind the House that when my right hon. friend, the leader of the Government, occupied in 1871, the same position which he now occupies, the policy of constructing a great line of Canadian Pacific Railway that would connect the two great oceans which form the eastern and western boundaries of the Dominion of Canada, received the approval of this House. Not only did the policy of accomplishing that great work receive the endorsement of a large majority in the Parliament of the country, but in specific terms, the means by which that work should be accomplished were embodied in the form of a resolution and submitted for the consideration of Parliament. It was moved by the late lamented Sir George Cartier :

“That the railway referred to in the Address of Her Majesty concerning the agreement made with British Columbia, and adopted by this House, on Saturday, 1st April next, should be constructed and worked by private enterprise, and not by the Dominion Government; and that the public aid to be given to secure the undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land and such subsidy in money, or other aid, not unduly pressing on the industry and resources of the Dominion, as the Parliament of Canada shall hereafter determine.”

MR. BLAKE. That was the resolution first brought down.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER. That was the first resolution, and it was amended to state more strongly that the work should not involve an increase in the existing rate of taxation. I was under the impression that the resolution I had in my hand was the original motion as carried. The hon. gentleman will agree with me that it embodies the mode upon which the road should be constructed. Now, Sir, although hon. gentlemen in this House, although the two great parties represented in this House may entertain differences of opinion as to the construction of the Railway, and the means that may be adequate to its accomplishment, the House was unanimous in that; because the hon. gentlemen then representing the Opposition supported a resolution, introduced as an amendment to ours by the present Chief Justice Dorion, declaring that the road should be constructed in no other way, adding to the resolution the words “and

not otherwise," the object of which was to make it impossible for any Government to secure the construction of the road in any other mode than through the agency of a private company aided by a grant of lands and money. And while the resolution moved by Sir George Cartier, declaring that the work should be constructed in that way, received the support of every gentleman on this side of the House, the still stronger affirmation moved by Mr. Dorion, that the work should not be done in any other way, received, I believe, the support of every gentleman on the other side of the House. Therefore, I think I may say that the policy of Parliament—not the policy of any one party—was distinctly approved in the resolutions placed upon the Journals in 1871. Well, Sir, in 1872 it became necessary to state in distinct terms what aid the Government proposed, under the authority of that resolution, to offer for the construction of the railway. The Journals of 1872 will show that Parliament, by a deliberate vote, and by a very large majority, placed at the service of the Government \$30,000,000 in money, and 50,000,000 acres of land, for the construction of the main line; and an additional amount of 20,000 acres of land per mile for the Pembina Branch of 85 miles, and of 25,000 acres of land per mile for the Nepigon Branch. Sir, I may remind the House that it was expected—as possibly may prove to be the case yet—that the line of the Canada Pacific Railway from Nipissing westward would run to the north of Lake Nepigon, and provision was therefore made for a branch, by a vote of twenty-five thousand acres of land per mile, for 120 miles, to secure connection between Lake Superior and the main line. Now, Sir, these terms became the subject of very considerable discussion in this House and out of it. And the Government having been sustained by a majority, placing at their disposal that amount of money and that amount of land to secure the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the term of Parliament having expired, Parliament was dissolved and the country appealed to, and after that question was placed before it, a very sufficient working majority was returned to support the Government and confirm the policy which the House had adopted, both as to the mode in which the work was to be constructed and as to the public money and public lands which the Government were authorized to use for the purpose of securing the construction of this work. Well, Sir,

under the authority of this House, in 1872, and under the authority of the people of this country, confirming what the House had done, the Government entered into a contract with a number of gentlemen, who subsequently selected Sir Hugh Allan as the President of the Company, for the purpose of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway on the terms that I have now mentioned to the House, and that gentleman, with some of his associates—and I need not at this period remind the House that that Company embraced a number of the most able, leading and influential men in the country, financially and commercially—proceeded to England, at that time, at all events, the great money market of the world, I might almost say that it was then the only money market in the world, and exhausted every means in their power to obtain the support of financial men in such a way as to enable them to carry that contract to completion. If my recollection does not fail me, the hon. leader of the late Government, on more than one occasion, expressed the hope that it would be successful. He always expressed his strong conviction that the means were altogether inadequate to secure the object in view, but I think that, on more than one occasion, he expressed the patriotic hope that these gentlemen would succeed in obtaining the capital required upon these terms. But, Sir, they did not succeed, as every person knows. After having exhausted every effort in their power, they were obliged to return and surrender the charter under which they received authority to endeavor to obtain money for the construction of this great work. Well, Sir, a very unpleasant result followed. The then Government of this country met with a like defeat; and the means placed at their disposal for the construction of the great work which these gentlemen had in hand having proved inadequate. The Government also succumbed to the pressure from hon. gentlemen opposite. It is not a pleasant topic, and I will not dwell any longer upon it than is absolutely necessary to introduce the Administration which followed us, ably led by the hon. member for Lambton. Now, Sir, I have said, on more than one occasion, that in my judgment, inasmuch as the only authority which Parliament had given for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway required that it should be done by a private company, aided by a grant of land and money, and inasmuch as the resolution embodying that

statement, as the hon. leader of the Opposition has correctly reminded me, also embodied the statement that it should not increase the existing rate of taxation, and inasmuch as the Finance Minister of the Government at once announced to Parliament the fact that there was a great impending deficiency between the revenue and expenditure, it therefore became apparent that no progress could be made except in contravention of both these propositions. I have said before, and I repeat now, that in my judgment the hon. leader of the then Government would have been warranted in stating that he was obliged to leave the question of the Canadian Pacific Railway in abeyance. The present hon. leader of the Opposition differed with me on that point, as occasionally we are compelled to differ on matters which are submitted for the consideration of this House, and I am free to confess that, although I do not hold so strongly as the present leader of the Opposition opinions as to the duty which devolved upon the hon. member for Lambton, as leader of the Government in 1874, the opinions he formed, the policy he adopted, and the statements he made in and out of this House, as to his position regarding the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, were eminently patriotic, and greatly to the credit of that hon. gentleman. But, Sir, he did commit himself in the most formal and authentic manner to the construction; notwithstanding the difficulties which had occurred, notwithstanding the apparently insuperable difficulties which presented themselves, the hon. gentleman went to his constituents—I will not say he went to his constituents—he appealed to all Canada, he appealed to the people of this country in the most formal manner in which it is possible for a First Minister to state his policy, and that was by a manifesto over his own signature. The House will, perhaps, allow me to draw attention to some very important statements contained in this manifesto. The hon. gentleman said:

“We must meet the difficulty imposed on Canada by the reckless arrangements of the late Government with reference to the Pacific Railway, under which they pledged the land and resources of this country to the commencement of that gigantic work in July, 1873, and to its completion by July, 1881.”

The hon. gentleman will see that the term reckless arrangements is limited by the hon. gentleman to the short time which we had allowed ourselves for the construction of the

work, and not to the work itself. The hon. gentleman further said:

"That contract has already been broken; over a million of dollars has now been spent in surveys, and no particular line has yet been located. The bargain is, as we always said, incapable of literal fulfilment. We must make arrangements with British Columbia for such a relaxation of the terms as will give time for the completion of the surveys, and subsequent prosecution of the work, with such speed as the resources of the country will permit, and without largely increasing the burden of taxation upon the people."

Mr. MACKENZIE. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Hear, hear. The hon. gentleman went on to say:

"They must, in the meantime, obtain some means of communication across the continent, and it would be their policy to unite enormous stretches of magnificent water communications with lines of railway to the Rocky Mountains, thus avoiding, for the present, the construction of 1,300 miles of railway, costing from sixty to eighty millions of dollars, and rendering the resources of the country available for the prosecution of these links, and they should endeavor to make these great works auxiliary to the promotion of immigration on an extensive scale, and to the settlement and development of those rich and fertile territories on which our hopes for the future of Canada are so largely fixed."

Now, Sir, I am sure that the House will excuse me for placing before them, in the strong and emphatic and eloquent terms of the leader of that Government, the opinion he entertained as to what was incumbent upon the Administration, and what was likely to be attained by pursuing that course. Then, Sir, the hon. gentleman, in a speech at Sarnia, followed up the policy here foreshadowed still more emphatically, still more strongly, than he had done in his manifesto. He said:

"You are aware that during the discussions on the Bill, I objected to the provisions as to the building of the railway within ten years. Nearly three years of that time had been then exhausted, and he being bound by a contract to finish it within seven years and three months. It was essential for the settlement for the purpose of opening up the districts where we have great riches undeveloped."

I presume that he was referring to the undoubted mineral districts of British Columbia.

"Without that communication, great development cannot take place. It will be the duty of the Administration, in the first place, to secure the opportunity for communication from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, and, at the same time," and this speaks for itself, "and thence to the Pacific Ocean and the Western slope."

"If we wish to make those regions accessible, that is British Columbia and the North-West Territory, we must effect this communication."

I do not think it requires any argument to show that the hon. gentleman proposed to construct a road 'in British Columbia and one on this side of the prairie, and that there would be no difficulty in the construction of the communicating sections. He says :

"It will be necessary to complete our great national highway across the continent, and I think it will be the duty, as it will be the desire, of the Government to develop any plan by which these results can be accomplished."

Now, Sir, there are other means of obtaining the policy of an Administration besides the expressions of the leading members of that Administration, and one is the authentic declaration of the organ of the Administration. If my hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, will not permit me to construe the language of the then leader of the Government, perhaps he will not object if I show here what construction the organ of that Government placed upon the words of their leader. I read, in an editorial in the *Toronto Globe* newspaper, that it had been asserted :

"That Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet have abandoned the Canadian Pacific Railway. Nothing can be further from the truth. Mr. Mackenzie's speech at Sarnia intimated distinctly what was the course which he proposed to pursue, and subsequent statements have all explained and developed the ideas then suggested. There is no question as to whether the Pacific Railway is to be built or not. That question has been settled irrevocably in the affirmative, and there is no statesman in Canada who would commit himself to any negative on such a point. On this all are agreed. Canvass the Dominion over and two things will be proved as settled points. One is that the railway must be built at as early a period as possible, and that everything that can reasonably help that railroad to a completion must be done and given. These two points are emphatically endorsed by the new Ministers, and entirely removed from the region of controversy."

Now, Sir, I have shown not only that the House affirmed that we should have a Canadian Pacific Railway, not only that the House decided as to the mode in which it desired the Pacific Railway to be constructed, but I have also shown that the Government that succeeded that of my right hon. friend committed themselves in the fullest and most complete manner, not only to the construction of that great work essential to the development of our country, but to its construction as rapidly as it was possible, within the means of the country. The hon. gentleman himself, on the floor of the House, stated :

"Let me say, so far as the work is concerned, that I have always been an advocate of the construction of a railway across this continent, but I have never believed it was within our means to carry it out in anything like the period of time to which the hon. gentleman bound Parliament and the country. I think that the work ought to be prosecuted in the most vigorous form; but time is an important element."

I have given the House some of the extra parliamentary utterances of the hon. gentleman, and I propose now to invite its attention to some still more formal and distinct statements of policy in regard to this important question, statements made in the capacity of Prime Minister of the country on the floor of Parliament. In 1874 the hon. gentleman introduced a bill for the purpose of providing for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and, in the course of a very able and a very exhaustive speech, he placed very fully on record the opinions which he held, and which embodied the opinions of the Government at that time. He stated, as will be seen on reference to *Hansard* of May 12th, 1874:

"The duty was imposed upon Parliament of providing a great scheme carrying out the obligations imposed upon us by the solemn action of Parliament in this matter. The original scheme was one that I opposed at the time of its passage here as one that in my mind then seemed impracticable within the time that was proposed, and impracticable also with the means proposed to be used to accomplish it."

I wish to invite the attention of the House to the formal declaration made on the floor of Parliament by the late Prime Minister, that the means that Parliament had placed at the disposal of the Government of their predecessors, \$30,000,000 in money and 54,000,000 acres of land, were utterly inadequate to secure the construction of the work. Then the hon. gentleman continues:

"I have not changed that opinion, but being placed here in the Government, I am bound to endeavor, to the utmost of my ability, to devise such means as may seem within our reach to accomplish, in spirit, if not in the letter, the obligations imposed upon us by the treaty of union, for it was a treaty of union with British Columbia."

I am sure that British Columbia will be very glad to be again reminded that the leader of the Opposition maintained that this was an absolute treaty of union with British Columbia. Then he continues:

"We had to undertake to vindicate the good faith of the country and do something which would enable this Parliament to carry out, in spirit, if not in letter, the serious undertaking of building the railway as far as the shores of British Columbia. The legal terms are exact, we are bound

within a specific time to construct a road to connect with the railway system of Ontario on the east, with the Pacific coast on the west. There is a moral obligation as well as a legal obligation. We thought, in the first place, that after having had time to consider what should be done, that the best course to pursue, in the meantime, would be to confer with the Local Government of British Columbia, and endeavor to ascertain from them, if any means could be arranged whereby an extension of time could be procured for the prosecution of the work which we were bound to undertake.

"With that view, a gentleman was sent as a representative of this Government, to that Province, and in the course of his negotiations with the Local Government, it became apparent, as it had been apparent in this House from several members from the Island of Vancouver, that it was an exceedingly important matter, in their estimation, that the road should be commenced at once at Esquimalt, and traverse the Island to that point where the crossing of the Narrows was ultimately to be. I, for one, was quite willing, if the Local Government were disposed, to make some terms for the extension of time, to undertake the construction of the Island portion as rapidly as possible; but, if it became apparent that the local authorities were determined to adhere rigidly to the Terms of Union, and demand the whole terms and nothing less, this House and the Dominion of Canada, I was and am strongly of opinion, would, on their part, concede to them the terms and nothing more. Proceeding upon the belief that this was a fair representation of the opinions of the country, which had to pay for the construction of this enormous work, we instructed Mr. Edgar, who was appointed to represent the Government in the matter, to say that the Government would be prepared to undertake immediately the commencement of the work upon the Island, traversing it northwards in the direction of the point of crossing, prosecute the surveys on the mainland, construct a passable road along the ridge, erect a telegraph line along the road, and, as soon as the work could be placed under contract, we would expend a million and a half a year within the Province. I do not know whether the offer will be accepted or not, and, in the meantime, it is absolutely necessary that Government should have authority to proceed with the commencement of the works in such a way as they think will meet with the acceptance of the country generally, and the reasonable people in British Columbia."

Now, I need not remind the House that this question was made the subject of reference by British Columbia to the Imperial Government, and Lord Carnarvon submitted, for the consideration of this Government, his view of what should be done: that was, that no less than two millions, in addition to the railway on Vancouver Island, the telegraph line, the waggon road, and all those other considerations, should be expended annually by the Government within the Province of British Columbia. When the hon. gentleman submitted his resolutions in 1874, as I am now submitting my resolutions, he said:

"We propose in these resolutions to ask the House to agree to these general propositions. In the first place, we have to ask the House for complete power to proceed with the construction of the road under the

terms of the Union with British Columbia, because we cannot throw off that obligation except with the consent of the contracting parties, and we are therefore bound to make all the provision that the House can enable us to make, to endeavor to carry out in the spirit, and as far as we can, in the letter, the obligation imposed on us by law. The British Columbia section will, of course, have to be proceeded with as fast as we can do it, for it is essential to keep faith with the spirit and, as far as possible, with the letter of the agreement. I attribute a very great deal of importance, indeed, to being able to throw in settlers to all parts of the country, and filling it with population, which is the only thing which can give, ultimately, commercial value to the road or prosperity to the country. It will be observed, Sir, that in the resolutions, as I have mentioned, the Government provides for the submission of these contracts to Parliament. They provide, also, that in case we receive no proposals for the building of what are called the sections in the Bill, that is of the four great divisions, the Government take power to issue proposals to build the road by direct Government agency." * * *

The hon. gentleman said that the Canadian Pacific was only to be built by direct Government agency; in the event of there being no proposals, and of there being a failure in carrying out the policy of Parliament, that it should be done by private enterprise, aided by a grant of money and lands. In 1875, the hon. gentleman having had an opportunity of considering the proposals which were embodied in his bill, to which I shall invite the attention of the House more specifically, at a later period, obtained authority from the House to go on with the immediate construction of the railway by the direct agency of the Government, for he could not obtain it in any other way. Having obtained power from the House to give not only ten thousand dollars of money per mile for every mile between Lake Nipissing and the shores of the Pacific, and twenty thousand acres of land per mile, but also he gave \$10,000 in cash per mile for the branch, eighty-five miles long, to Pembina, and 20,000 acres per mile, and \$10,000 and 20,000 acres per mile for the Georgian Bay Branch, of eighty-five miles long; and also he gave the further sum of four per cent. interest for twenty-five years upon such sum as might be necessary in order to secure the construction of the work. Now the hon. gentleman, the leader of the late Government, stated frankly to the House at the outset, that the terms previously provided in 1872, and embodied in the contract made with the Allan Company in 1873, were utterly inadequate, and that it was necessary to the good faith of the country, and that its honor and interests demanded that the railway should be proceeded with. He asked and obtained from Parliament a

large addition to the means that had been previously passed by Parliament for the construction of the work. In 1875, after having had a year's experience, he came to the House and said:

"We only let the grading upon this line (Pembina Branch) because we thought it advisable, while proceeding thus far, not to proceed any further until we could get a general contract let for the entire line where we propose to build it now, which would cover all the more expensive parts of construction. For the same reason, we are only letting the grading and bridging from Fort William and Shebandowan, and the same from Rat Portage to Red River."

Again, it will be seen that the hon. gentleman puts forward as his policy, and the policy of the Parliament of 1874, as it had been the policy of the Parliament of 1871 and 1872, that the work should be prosecuted by the agency of a private company, aided by a grant of money and land. As I have already stated, the subject was made a matter of reference, in 1875, to Lord Carnarvon, and he proposed that \$2,000,000, and not \$1,500,000, should be the minimum expenditure on railway works within the province, from the date at which the surveys are sufficiently completed to enable that amount to be expended on construction. In naming this amount His Lordship understood, in the language of the memorandum:

"That it being alike the interest and the wish of the Dominion Government to urge on, with all speed, the completion of the works now to be undertaken, the annual expenditure will be as much in excess of the minimum of \$2,000,000 as, in any year, may be found practicable. Lastly, that on or before the 31st of December, 1890, the railway shall be completed and opened for traffic from the Pacific seaboard to a point at the western end of Lake Superior, at which it will fall into connection with existing lines of railway, then by a portion of the United States, and also with the navigation on Canadian waters."

These terms included, it is true, a considerable extension of the time within which the road was originally to have been completed, but they fixed a definite and distinct limit within which a large portion of the Pacific Railway should be constructed and put in operation. The hon. gentleman himself, in referring to these terms, used this language:

"We shall always endeavor to proceed with the work as fast as the circumstances of the country—circumstances yet to be developed—will enable us to do, so as to obtain, as soon as possible, complete railway communication with the Pacific Province. How soon that time may come I cannot predict, but I have no reason to doubt that we shall be able to keep our obligation to British Columbia, as now amended, without seriously interfering with the march of prosperity."

That is, that by 1890 the hon. gentleman hoped to complete it, "without seriously interfering with the march of prosperity." I am glad, notwithstanding the difficulties which the hon. gentleman encountered, to be able to submit to his consideration the means by which we are to do that to which he pledged himself, and pledged the honor and faith of his Government and his party, so far as the leader of a great party can pledge that party to the accomplishment of a great national undertaking. But, Sir, I am glad to be able to give, not only the authority of the leader of the the late Government, but that of the hon. and learned gentleman who is leader of Her Majesty's Constitutional Opposition at the present moment. That hon. gentleman is reported in *Hansard* of March 5th, 1875, to have used these words :

"The general policy of the country upon the subject of the Pacific Railway was spread before this country anterior to the late general election, and practically and fairly stated."

I have read to the House the words which the Premier of that day, as the hon. gentleman said, "practically and fairly" stated his policy, and I quite agree that it was so stated. The hon. member for South Durham continued :

"In some of the minor details of that policy the hon. member for Cumberland has indicated more or less of change, but the broad features of that policy were, as I have said, plainly stated to this country anterior to the late general elections ; the verdict of country was taken upon it and the result was a decided acceptance of it. It is not reversible by us. We have no mandate to reverse it. Upon the most enlarged consideration of the rights of members of Parliament, I cannot conceive that we could have the right at all to listen to the appeal of the hon. member for Cumberland, and to enter into a consideration whether that policy upon which the country's opinion was asked and taken, and which opinion we were sent here to enforce, should be altogether reversed. I do consider it would be unwise for an instant to consider any such proposition. I do not believe that any other policy in its general effects than that which was so proposed and so accepted is at all feasible."

Now, Sir, I ventured to say, at the outset of my remarks, that we had the means of showing to the House, not only that Parliament, on both these great occasions, had distinctly declared the policy of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway, but that the people, as stated by the present leader of the Opposition, had given an affirmative to that proposition, and had, as that hon. gentleman averred, put it without the power of this Parliament to change that policy. I must remind the House that the circumstances of the country were

very different in 1875 from the circumstances of the country at the time at which the previous Government undertook the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway ; but notwithstanding that changed condition of circumstances, notwithstanding that the hon. gentleman's Finance Minister was compelled to come to Parliament year after year and ask permission to increase largely the taxation of the country in order to meet the ordinary expenditure ; notwithstanding all this, the hon. gentleman held that the honor and good faith of the country were pledged to the construction of this great work, and he came to this House and asked the authority of Parliament for the prosecution of his scheme. In 1876, after longer experience, after having found that the financial difficulties of the country had certainly not decreased, the hon. gentleman was still undismayed, for, in 1876, from the high and authoritative position of a Prime Minister submitting the policy of his Government to the country, after full and deliberate consideration, he enunciated the following views :

" We have felt, from the first, that while it was utterly impossible to implement to the letter the very agreements entered into by our predecessors, the good faith of the country demanded that the Administration should do everything that was reasonable in their power to carry out the pledges made to British Columbia, if not the entire obligation, at least such parts of it as seemed to be within their power, and most conducive to the welfare of the whole Dominion, as well as to satisfy all reasonable men in the Province of British Columbia, which Province had fancied itself entitled to complain of apparent want of good faith in carrying out these obligations. In endeavouring to accomplish this result we have had serious difficulties to contend with, to which I shall presently allude. * * * The Act of 1874 prescribes that the Government may build the road on contract in the ordinary way, or it may be built on the terms set forth in Section 8, which provides that the Government may pay \$10,000 in money and grant 20,000 acres of land per mile, with four per cent. for 25 years upon any additional amount in the tenders, to a company to construct portions of the line. The intention of the Government was, as soon as the surveys were in a sufficiently advanced state, to invite tenders for the construction of such portions of the work as, in the judgment of Parliament, might be considered desirable to go on with, and that in the meantime the money that has been spent in grading should be held to be a part of the \$10,000 a mile referred to in Section 8. Whether the Government would be in a position during the coming Session to have contracts obtained, and submitted to Parliament, for the whole line, at its next Session, is perhaps problematical."

So that the hon. gentleman, in 1876, not only contemplated going on steadily with the prosecution of the work, or very important sections of the work, but he had it in contemplation to invite tenders for the construction of the whole

Canadian Pacific Railway, on terms which as I shall show more specifically hereafter, were largely in excess of any authority we ever obtained from Parliament, and terms that, as I have said before, he himself held, and I suppose conscientiously held, to be utterly inadequate.

"If we are able to commence the work of construction this coming year in British Columbia, these rails would be required. It may be said to be impossible to commence the construction of the road in British Columbia without having rails on the spot."

And in that I concur with the hon. gentleman.

Mr. MACKENZIE. The concurrence comes very late.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman will not, I think, find any ground for making that statement. I think he will, perhaps, allow me to interject that they would have been equally useful if they had not lain quite so long in British Columbia. The hon. gentleman further said :

"There are five thousand tons in British Columbia, and if we erred in sending them there, we have simply erred in our earnest desire to show the people of British Columbia that we are desirous of keeping faith with them, that our speeches were not mere empty promises, and that we were resolved to place ourselves in a position they could not misunderstand."

Well, Sir, in 1877, after another year's experience, the hon. gentleman again stated the policy, that still was the policy of his Administration, in reference to this work. He said :

"The late Administration, in entering into the agreement for bringing British Columbia into the Confederation, had an expressed obligation as to the building of the railway across the continent from Lake Nipissing on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west, within a specified number of years. When the present Administration acceded to power, they felt that this, like all treaty obligations, was one which imposed upon them certain duties of administration and government which they had no right to neglect, and that they were bound to carry the scheme practically into effect to the extent that I have indicated. The whole effort of the Administration, from that day to this, has been directed to the accomplishment of this subject in the way that would seem to be most practical and most available, considering the difficulties to be encountered and the cost to be incurred. * * * The Railway Act of 1874 provides that 20,000 acres of land should be given absolutely as part consideration for the contract, and \$10,000 per mile of actual cash—the land to be subject to certain regulations as to two thirds of it which are provided for in the Act—and that tenderers should be invited to state the additional sum, if any, upon which a guarantee of 4 per cent. should be given by the Dominion for 25 years afterwards. * * * I mentioned last year, in introducing this item to the Committee of Supply, that we had then advertised, or proposed to advertise—I forgot which in English and Canadian papers, that we hoped, about January, 1877, to be able to advertise for tenders

and to supply complete profiles of the line. * * * I think, quite early in July, or earlier. I think it must have been in June. At all events, we desired to send that advertisement to the public in order that it might invite intending contractors to visit the country for themselves. I was personally satisfied that an examination of the prairie countries, if not the country east of the prairies to Lake Superior, would show to intending contractors, in the first place, that there was a large quantity of good land, and, in the second place, that the physical difficulties to be overcome were not so serious as people might reasonably anticipate to exist in the centre of the Continent. I do not think the advertisement produced very much of that particular result. Some parties, I believe, have visited the country, the agents of some English companies have visited Ottawa; some have visited the agency of the Government in London, with a view to examine the plans and profiles, and the Railway Act under which the contracts will be let; but the season was an unfavorable one in consequence of the difficulties attending railway enterprise all through the world, and can, perhaps, be fairly considered as one not very fortunate for issuing or proposing the prospectus of a huge enterprise like this, in a comparatively unknown country, or, I might say, a wholly unknown country. The Government were not able, as I stated, to have the profiles all ready in January. They were, however, despatched in sections as soon as they could be completed, to the Railway Office in London. They have been on exhibition in the Railway Office here for many months, and the whole of the profiles from Lake Superior to the Western Ocean is, I presume, either completed or very near it, at the present moment; that is, taking the two routes already completed through British Columbia. The Government proposed, as soon as these are entirely completed, to have advertisements issued calling for offers, giving ample time, so that tenders that are received may be received shortly before the opening of Parliament at its next Session, in order that Parliament may have an opportunity of deciding upon whatever scheme may be then proposed by the Government under the offers to be received."

So that, down to 1878, the House will see the hon. gentleman still remained true to the obligation of the rapid construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and of its construction by the agency of a private company, and by a grant of land and money. In 1878, the last occasion on which the hon. gentleman, with the authority of Prime Minister, discussed the question, he said :

"There can be no question of this, that it was in itself a desirable object to obtain railway communication from one end of our Dominion to the other, traversing the continent from east to west. So far as the desirability of obtaining such a communication may be concerned, there can be no real difference of opinion between any two parties in this country, or amongst any class of our population."

I am very glad on this important occasion, in submitting resolutions of such magnitude for the consideration of this House, to have the authority of the leader of the late Government, after years of close and careful examination of this question, given to the House and the country, that it

was a matter, not only of vital importance to the country, but upon which both parties were agreed, not only in this House, but in the population outside of it. In 1878, the hon. gentleman also said :

"I have to say, in conclusion, that nothing has given myself and the Government more concern than the matters connected with the Pacific Railway have given. We are alive to this consideration, that it is of vast importance to the country that this road should be built as soon as the country is able to do it without imposing burdens upon the present ratepayer which would be intolerable."

I quite agree with the hon. gentleman in that statement, and I am proud to be able to stand here to-day and offer for the hon. gentleman's consideration, and, I trust, after full consideration, his support, a proposition that will secure the construction of that which he has declared to be not only a matter of honor to which the country was bound, but a matter of the deepest necessity to the development of this country, upon terms that will not impose any intolerable burdens on the ratepayers.

Mr. MACKENZIE. I shall consider it by-and-by.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman continued :

"On the other hand, it is tolerably evident that the wealth of the country will be much more rapidly increased if we are able to throw a large population into those hitherto deserted plains, which contain so much land fit for habitation, and which have been wholly unproductive in the commercial interests of our country."

Again I invite the hon. gentleman's attention to the obligation that rests upon him to support a plan by which what he designates "deserted plains" may become the abode of an industrious population, not only furnishing a comfortable living to themselves and their families, but increasing greatly the national wealth of Canada, and upon terms which come quite within those which he has approved as offering no obstacle to the progress of this work. And then the hon. gentleman added :

"And so with regard to this western and more gigantic work—a work which cannot be estimated unless we have given some thought to it—such is its magnitude—a road which is four times the length of the Grand Trunk, from Montreal to Sarnia, which is five times the length of the road from Edinburgh to London, which traverses our whole territory. Nothing can possibly exceed the importance that is to be attached to the building of such a gigantic work, either as regards the ultimate prosperity of the country, or its bearing upon our several relations to each other in the united provinces."

It requires no comment of mine, Sir, to cause a statement from such an authentic source to carry conviction to the mind of every hon. gentleman present as to the obligation that rests upon all parties, both in the House and out of it, to realize what the hon. gentleman has indicated could be realized by the construction of this work. That, Sir, as I have said before, was,—the hon. gentleman thinks, no doubt, unfortunately for the country.—the last occasion on which it became his duty to speak with the authority of the First Minister of Canada in relation to this great question. But as the hon. gentleman stated, the question of construction, the question of the steady prosecution and completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, was not an issue that went to the country at the last election. That had been submitted on two occasions by two First Ministers, representing both the great parties of the country, and on both occasions had received the affirmation of a very large majority of the people; but as is well-known, a change of Administration took place in 1878, and the hon. gentleman was called again upon to deal with the question. He had that test of patriotism applied to him, which is involved in considering a policy from the Opposition benches as well as from the Government benches, and I will read to the House the remarks which the hon. gentleman, as leader of the Opposition, made to this House after the change of Government in 1879. He said :

“ We recognize the obligations resting upon us as Canadians, and, while I assert, in the most positive manner, that nothing could have been done by any Administration during our term of office that we did not do, or try to do, in order to accomplish, or realize those expectations which were generated by the Government of hon. gentlemen opposite, in their admission of British Columbia into the Confederacy, I say, at the same time, that we endeavored, not merely to keep the national obligations, but we ventured, to a great extent, our own political existence as administrators; we risked our political position for the sake of carrying out to completion, in the best way possible, the course which hon. gentlemen opposite had promised should be taken.”

The hon. gentleman also declared after his five years' term of office had ended, that nothing that had been in the power of the Ministry, of which he was the head, to do, had been left undone to carry to successful completion the policy to which his predecessors had committed the House and the country. He said :

“ Our proposals was this : We endeavoured, in the first place, to obtain some modification of the terms. We despatched an agent to British Col-

umbia, and Lord Carnarvon ultimately offered his good services, in order to arrive at some understanding with that Province; and we reached the understanding that we would endeavour to build a railway from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean by 1890; that we should expend a certain amount per annum in British Columbia, after the surveys were completed and line adopted. The line never was surveyed sufficiently to enable us to reach that conclusion till last year, and, as soon as we had information sufficient to guide us, we adopted the Burrard Inlet route, and immediately advertised for tenders for the construction of that line. The hon. the Minister of Public Works has spoken of our departure from the former terms of the construction of this road. Now, what was this departure? We had precisely the same provision of land, and equivalent as to money; only, instead of \$30,000,000, we named \$10,000 a mile, which would have amounted to \$26,000,000, and two-thirds of the land was to be controlled by the Government in respect of sales and management. We also then provided that, in asking for tenders, we should invite tenders to say upon what additional amount they would require a guarantee of four per cent. for 25 years."

The hon. gentleman also proceeded to say :

"While we let out contracts between Thunder Bay and Selkirk, with a view to get a road opened into that country, it was with the determination to adopt this method, and I explained this several times during my administration. We intended, when we had obtained a full completion of the surveys, and finally adopted the route to the ocean, through British Columbia, to endeavour to place the entire work from Lake Superior westward under contract—the contractors assuming the expenditure already incurred, and allowing themselves to be charged with it as part of the \$10,000 a mile to be paid to them on the contracts for the entire line. The hon. gentlemen opposite, and the whole country, are aware that we solicited tenders in England for some months upon this ground, before hon. gentlemen opposite came into office; also that Mr. Sandford Fleming, the Chief Engineer, was instructed, while in London, to place himself in communication with contractors and financial men, and also to obtain the assistance of Sir John Rose, who, in many things, had been the active, energetic and patriotic agent of the Dominion, with a view to the carrying out of this scheme."

I may mention incidentally, that, while I entirely approve of all these efforts, the hon. gentleman was, I think, never called upon to lay upon the Table of the House any correspondence that took place between his Government and these capitalists and contractors, and which did not result in their obtaining a contract.

Mr. BLAKE. Did he ever refuse?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. He never was asked anything so utterly at variance with the first principles of Government, as to bring down correspondence that could be attended with no possible benefit to the Government, but be extremely embarrassing to the Government in its future operations.

Mr. BLAKE. That is the true reason.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I do not hesitate to say that a more unfortunate precedent, in my judgment, could not be set than for a Government to enter into negotiations with capitalists to ascertain how far they would be prepared to take up a great work and carry it to completion, and then bring down the correspondence which could only reflect on the character and standing of the gentlemen interested, and render gentlemen in future, in similar cases, cautious how far they would discuss negotiations with a Government which would later give publicity to those negotiations. The hon. gentleman further said:

"But I am informed that, notwithstanding all our efforts, we signally failed in obtaining one single offer (there was one imperfect offer made) for the construction of the railroad on those terms, which were the grant of 20,000 acres and \$10,000 cash, per mile, with a guarantee of 4 per cent. upon such balance as might be represented as necessary. No terms could be more explicit; it would be difficult to mention terms more favorable, and yet the hon. gentleman seems to expect, by his speech, that the colonization scheme with the 100,000,000 acres instead of the 50,000,000 acres and \$30,000,000 current money, is somehow or other to succeed in getting this road built. His own remarks showed to-day that it was utterly useless at present for him to expect British railway contractors, or great financial firms to engage in any railroad enterprise on this continent. Much of this is due to the want of confidence which he tells us is experienced in financial circles in Britain, and a great deal is due to the unwise legislation in Canada and the Provinces, with respect to railway lines, and to the fact that foreign capitalists have obtained little or no return for the money they have laid out in this country. I have made up my mind long ago that it will be exceedingly difficult for a population of 4,000,000 so to conduct financial transactions connected with the building of that railroad of 2,600 miles, across an unknown and almost untrodden continent, in many places extremely difficult. I frankly say now, after my experience in endeavoring to accomplish something in that direction, that I fear we shall be incapable of accomplishing anything in that direction at present."

I need not say to the House that in what he said and anticipated, the hon. gentleman, I suppose, was sincere. I suppose when he made this utterance it was made in all frankness. The House will readily understand the gratification I expected to see spread over the hon. gentleman's countenance on learning that all that he lamented he had been unable to accomplish in his official position he occupied in the House, his successors were in a position to present for the consideration of Parliament. I frankly concede, and in doing so I only do justice to the sincere, able and energetic efforts of the hon. gentleman, that he did all that lay in his power during his term of administration to put this work

upon the foundation on which Parliament, on two separate occasions, and the people had affirmed it should be placed, namely, that the work should be done by a private company, aided by grants of land and money. But, Sir, the hon. gentleman stated, on another occasion, that :

“It would have been very easy to commence to grade the road, and so keep within the terms of the Union Act; but I scorned to practice any deception in the matter.”

I assume, throughout, that the hon. gentleman was acting with entire sincerity, that in all those statements made to the House as to his great desire to advance this great national work, he was giving candid utterance to his sincere opinion—to the opinion that, whether sitting on one side of the House or the other, he would be prepared to give an equally zealous and hearty support to the policy. But in 1878 there was a general election, the result being that my right hon. friend beside me was again charged with the important duty of administering the public affairs of this country, and again brought face to face with this great national work, this gigantic undertaking, that for five years had, notwithstanding the efforts of our predecessors, made no very great progress. We found ourselves, then, in this position, of being called upon to deal with the question of the great Canadian Pacific Railway, upon which a large amount of public money had been expended, and in a way that would prove utterly useless to the country unless measures were taken promptly to carry, at all events, the work under construction to completion, and to supplement it as to make it effective for the promotion of the objects for which it was designed. We, therefore, were not in a position to effect any change of policy as hon. gentlemen opposite will see. But we came to Parliament to re-affirm the policy with which we had started at the inception of that great work, the Canadian Pacific Railway, involving the policy of utilizing the lands of the great North-West for the purpose of obtaining the construction of that vast work. There was every reason in the world why we should adopt that policy in the first instance, and to return to it afterwards. Every person knows that the development of this great territory was concerned in this policy; that day by day it was becoming better known and better understood by people whose interest would be promoted by the carrying out of the designs involved in this gigantic under-

taking; that, irrespective altogether of the vital political question of the connecting British Columbia with the rest of the Dominion, the progress and prosperity of Canada were to be promoted to an extent otherwise unattainable, by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. We also felt that inasmuch as those lands were, as the leader of the Government truly stated, desert lands, notwithstanding their fertility and enormous extent, and practically as useless as if in a foreign country, so far as Canada was concerned, unless they were developed, and, as it was stated, their development could only be accomplished by completing this great national work, we should come back to the House with our original policy. We were compelled to take it up as we found it, and go on with it as a Government work to make the work, upon which so much had already been expended, of use to the country. But we asked the House to place at our disposal 100,000,000 of acres for the purpose of covering the expenditure in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. We felt that, by that means, we should again place ourselves in a position to save the older and outlying Provinces, ultimately, from additional taxation. We desired, by utilizing the lands of the North-West, to obtain the means of recouping to the Treasury every dollar expended, or likely to be expended, on this work. Hon. gentlemen also know that, in the development of that policy, we proposed to obtain the co-operation of the Imperial Government. The hon. leader of the Opposition occasionally indulges in a quiet sneer at the result of the efforts of this Government to interest the Imperial Government in this enterprise. Now, it is very well known that, armed by this House with the power of utilizing 100,000,000 acres in the North-West, if we could so secure the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, my right hon. friend the First Minister, the Minister of Finance and myself went to England in 1879. I do not intend to lay claim to any great results from our mission as regards the railway, but I think I may claim credit for a fair measure of success that attended our efforts, if not our joint efforts, in regard to the business of our respective departments. We found the press of England indifferent, if not hostile, to Canada; where it was not hostile it was indifferent, in contradistinction to its spirit in dealing with

Australia and the other colonies. Indeed, in many cases, Canada was treated with marked hostility. Very suddenly, however, a very striking, a very marked change, took place. When? When Earl Beaconsfield, the Prime Minister of that day, stated openly, or in public, the enormous value of the Great North-West of Canada. I do not mean to say he was entirely accurate in all his statements; but at all events he was quite correct in the remark that the most lively imagination could hardly over-estimate the enormous value of the Great North-West and the inviting character of the field it presented to the agriculturists in every part of the world desiring to emigrate. From that day to this every person knows the marked and instantaneous nature of the change that took place in English public opinion, especially in the views of every important paper in the British Islands, and in many in this country as well as in the United States, and also in the amount of attention and interest concentrated on the North-West. The people of this country owe to my right hon. friend this great beneficial change brought about through his personal communication with the Prime Minister of England, and the use made of it in dealing with the people of Great Britain. Hon. gentlemen know we were then obliged to confess we were not able to bring to completion any great scheme for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I venture to say we thought we had made some impression on the Imperial Government while in England. I think that my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition, who has sneered at our statement that we had obtained the sympathy and enlisted the interest of the Imperial Government in relation to the Canadian Pacific Railway, will find a strong corroboration of our assertion in intelligence received to-day with regard to the action of that Government. It can now be believed that our efforts with the Imperial Government will, at no distant day, bear good fruit. The Colonial Office have done what they never did before—published, authoritatively, a document recommending Canada as a field for emigration. I do not know whether the hon. gentleman (Mr. Blake) has seen the news to-day or not; but I am quite sure that, as a patriotic Canadian, he will be glad to learn that the London *Times* announces the Imperial Government has promised to bring down a scheme of emigration, assisted by the Canadian Government. So the hon. gentleman may feel he is not quite in a position to

repeat, what I am rather afraid was to him a gratifying intimation, that the present Canadian Government had entirely failed in their negotiations.

Mr. BLAKE. Allow me to remind my hon. friend that the present Imperial Government is Mr. Gladstone's, and the Government with which he and his colleagues had interviews was the Beaconsfield Government.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. My hon. friend will permit me to point out to him that he is strengthening my argument. He will permit me to inform him that from this very place last Session, I stated that, instead of this Government feeling anxious in consequence of the change of Government in England, we were advised, and were of the belief, that the sentiments of the members of the new Ministry were of the most liberal character in relation to Canada. My hon. friend will also permit me to inform him that since the advent of the Liberal Government to power, the right hon., the Premier, my hon. friend the Minister of Agriculture, and myself have been in personal communication with a number of members of the present Administration, and have impressed upon their minds the importance to the empire of the Government of Great Britain giving due attention to the resources of the great Canadian North-West as a field for emigration, and as a means of meeting the difficulties of a serious character which have presented themselves in relation to the government of the British Isles. So that I do not think my hon. friend has made a great deal by this suggestion that there has been a change in the Administration. He only strengthens the opinion I have expressed that Canada occupies to-day a position this country has never occupied before. I frankly confess we did not find, when we went there in 1879, that the time was ripe for successfully floating the scheme in connection with the hundred million acres of land put at our disposal with a view to securing the construction of the Pacific Railway. But, Sir, we sowed the seed, and we kept our eyes steadily directed to such means—those to which I have already adverted—and others by which the position of Canada might be greatly changed in relation to this great work. My hon. friend the Minister of Agriculture, by a stroke of genius; and, perhaps, the most happy stroke of genius ever shown by any Canadian Minister was that which he exhibited when he

adopted the policy of showing the confidence the Government of Canada had in their own country, by stating at a time when the agriculturists of Great Britain were very much alive to the unfortunate position they occupied, that parties with means desirous of emigrating to this country, and of cultivating the soil of the great North-West, might select able and independent delegates to come here and examine this country, and that the Government of Canada—so confident was the Government of the favorable character their report would assume—would pay their expenses. It would be utterly impossible to estimate, from an economical and financial point of view, the advantage which has accrued to Canada by that single act. The whole sentiment of Great Britain in relation to the country has undergone a complete change; and, when we went back to England at the conclusion of the last Session of Parliament, we found that Canada occupied, in the Mother Country, an entirely different position from that which it occupied a year before.

Mr. MACKENZIE. On Hanlan's account.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Hanlan is an agency that I do not at all despise.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. He rows in the same boat with us.

Mr. BLAKE. You go by rail.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. My right hon. friend says he rows in the same boat with us. I may say I am satisfied of this, that the interest he excites in the sporting world gives Canada greater importance in England. I stated a moment ago that in 1879, Parliament placed at our disposal 100,000,000 acres of land, and I have already intimated that we were not able with that grant to arrange for any complete scheme for the rapid construction of the railway. In 1880 we again met the House, and we met it with the same policy we adopted the year before, and that was in good faith to take up the obligations that devolved upon us through the acts of our predecessors. Although we had not propounded the policy of carrying on the work by the Government, we took up the work as we found it. We placed under contract the 127 miles of road which the leader of the late Government had announced—by advertis-

ing for tenders—as his intention to build; which had assured the people of British Columbia he intended to build, and which, under the terms with Lord Carnarvon, he was bound to place under contract. When he met Parliament with the statement that we were going on with this work, I think we scarcely met with the amount of aid and co-operation from the gentlemen opposite to which we were entitled. I do not wish to say anything that would seem harsh to any gentleman on the other side of the House, but I really do not think the attitude which the Opposition assumed towards this Government, when we were only carrying out the pledges which they themselves had given over their signatures as Ministers, by their votes in Parliament, and by their declarations of policy in this House, in the country, and to the Imperial Government, was justifiable. As we were only carrying out what they proposed, we had a right to expect to be met in a manner different to that in which we were met by them; but the attitude hon. gentlemen assumed only afforded an opportunity of showing that whatever change of sentiment may have taken place in the mind of the leader of the Opposition, no such change had taken place in the mind of Parliament in relation to the subject. The leader of the Opposition moved—and in making this motion he submitted a resolution directly in antagonism to the policy of the Government which he supported and to his own recorded utterances on the floor of this House—that we should break faith with British Columbia and with Lord Carnarvon, and that we should give, I was going to say the lie, to Lord Dufferin, who stated on his honor as a man that every particle of the terms of agreement with British Columbia were in a state of literal fulfilment. The result of the moving of this resolution was to place on the records of Parliament a vote of 131 to 49 that good faith should be kept, and that we were bound not only to keep good faith with British Columbia, but that we owed it to Canada to take up this work and prosecute it in such a way as we believed was absolutely necessary in order to bring it within such limits as would enable us to revert to the original policy of building the road by means of a company aided by land and money. And, had we not placed that section under contract in British Columbia, had we not vigorously prosecuted the 185 miles wanted to complete the line

between Lake Superior and Red River, we would not have been able to stand here to-day laying before the House the best proposal for the construction of the road that has ever been made to Parliament. Well, Sir, I will give, in conclusion, the utterances of the hon. the leader of the late Government at the last Session of Parliament. He said :

"I shall not for a moment deny that we intended to carry out the terms of the arrangement with Lord Carnarvon, and nothing but the want of means would have prevented us from accomplishing that object, an object which could not but be desirable to any one who wished to see our trade extended."

Not merely that the obligation under the Carnarvon terms, but that the interests of the country rendered it desirable that the policy should be carried out.

"No one who looked to the desirable extension of our business across the continent could avoid seeing that if such an extension could possibly be obtained without too great sacrifice it would in itself be desirable."

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. Who said that ?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The leader of the late Government at the last Session of Parliament. The hon. gentleman further said :

"Our policy was this: We believed that the Pacific Railway was undertaken as a great national highway from one end of the Dominion to the other, and that whatever termination we make of it, near Lake Nipissing, it must be placed in connection with some other lines, and we provided for paying a subsidy to some connecting lines east of Georgian Bay. Our object was to have, as speedily as possible, a railway from the waters of the Georgian Bay, to have a connection with the Quebec lines, through the Canada Central, as a connecting medium."

"Our plan would form a through line to the Ottawa Valley, notably and notoriously the shortest line to the east from our western territories. Hon. gentlemen opposite have given up all the advantages that the Province of Quebec and the Provinces east of that would have derived from our plan, and the President of the Council is not apparently at all disposed to avoid cheering himself because he adopted this course; he deliberately injured his own Province, and now laughs at the injury he has done."

The hon. gentleman will be very glad to find that the President of the Council, who, on this side as well as on that side of the House, invariably pressed in the strongest terms the prosecution of the eastern link with the Canadian Pacific Railway, is able now to cheer himself, not upon the attainment of the line to the Georgian Bay, but on the immediate steady prosecution of a line connecting the great Province of Quebec and all the Eastern Provinces by the

shortest and most available route with the fertile territories of the North-West. The hon. leader of the Opposition has indulged, as is his wont, in a good many sneers on this subject. He taunted our Quebec friends on this side of the House with having been left out in the cold, and with having been sacrificed. I trust, Sir, that now that these gentlemen are in a position to receive these taunts with a good deal of equanimity, they will find that hon. gentleman ready to consider what the interests of this great eastern section of the country are, as he was when he supposed that they had not obtained the justice which he thought they were entitled to receive at our hands. The hon. leader of the late Government said :

"I was under the impression I had done for Quebec everything that was reasonable and proper, and I am quite willing to contrast it with what the hon. gentlemen opposite have done up to this moment. But I am not to be led off my line of argument by any such side issue. I am speaking, at present, of the bearing of the Pacific Railway scheme upon the interests of Quebec. I am speaking of the plan we adopted to carry trade by the Ottawa Valley to the great cities on the St. Lawrence, and I have asserted, what no one will deny, that that plan was one which promised well for the prosperity of these cities."

As I have stated to the House, the modification of the plan of the hon. leader of the late Government greatly extended the consideration to be given to contractors, and as he says, in his own terms, they were all in favor of parties tendering. The hon. gentleman also said :

"I confess that, after the hon. gentlemen opposite had committed themselves to the building of this road, the late Government were bound, as the successors of those hon. gentlemen, to give effect to their plan, if possible, and we tried our best to do so. Our modifications of their plan were all in favor of parties tendering, and, therefore, should have produced tenders, though theirs failed. The plan of the late Government provided for the payment of \$10,000 in cash per mile, extending over the entire 2,600 miles."

It provided more. It provided \$10,000 in cash per mile, not only extending over 2,627 miles of road, but also over the Georgian Bay branch and over the Pembina branch as well. The hon. gentleman further said :

"This would make the total \$26,000,000, to which add \$3,000,000 for surveys, according to the hon. gentleman's statement, would make \$29,000,000, leaving \$1,000,000 still to be devoted to the eastern end to pay the greater portion of the subsidy to the Canada Central Railway. If the late Government could have obtained offers."

"Which would have enabled them to construct the road for \$26,000,000. I think it would have been their duty to have accepted them. They did

not have any offers made them, and the hon. gentleman knew that he could not get any or he would have asked for them."

I invite the hon. gentleman's attention to this statement, because it clothes us, as far as he could, with his approval in dealing in relation to this very matter. Now, Sir, we have accepted an offer, a better offer than that contained in the hon. gentleman's proposal, as I will show the House in the most distinct and conclusive manner, and I claim from the hon. gentleman that support to which I consider he was pledged to this scheme. I did not suppose that when the hon. gentleman, in his place as leader of the Opposition, stated that if Government would do a certain thing he would support them, that when they did that he would withdraw that support, or hesitate to implement the pledge which he gave across the floor of the House. I read that statement of the hon. gentleman who said he would scorn to use any deception. I believed it, and accepted it, and hold him to it, bound as he is by this declaration. When I have shown the House, as I will show, that our terms, the terms which we have laid on the Table of the House, to be much within the terms he pledged himself to support us in, I will claim from the hon. gentleman the fulfilment of his pledge. The hon. gentleman said the Government did not have any offers made them. Well, Sir, why did he not get any offers? He did not get any offers because the position of this country was such for five years as to make it impossible for hon. gentlemen to obtain any offers in that direction. But, Sir, when under the influences to which I have adverted, the whole tone of the press of England changed; when a large body of people, the best class of immigrants that can come to this country became alive with excitement with reference to the Canadian North-West; when, Sir, a movement, such as never previously took place, was occupying the attention of capitalists as well as immigrants in England with relation to the North-West, and when, under the fiscal policy propounded to this House by my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, the whole financial position of this country was changed: when commercial prosperity had again, under the influence of that change in the fiscal policy, dawned upon Canada,—I say, Sir, when the Government of Canada were able to present themselves to the capitalists of the world, either in this country or the United States or in England, and show, not

that year after year they had to meet Parliament with an alarming deficit, and were unable to provide for it, and were adding from year to year to the accumulating indebtedness of the country, not for the prosecution of public works that were going to give an impetus to our industries, but merely to enable the ordinary expenditure of the country to be met by revenue,—when that all this was changed, the aspect of affairs in relation to this work changed. When, under the previous condition of things, my hon. friend opposite could not obtain offers in response to the advertisement which he published all over the world, asking financial men to take up this scheme in consideration of \$10,000 in cash per mile, and 20,000 acres of land per mile, and asked in vain, not being able to get a single offer; when this advertisement was published, notwithstanding all his efforts in England and in this country in relation to it, and he obtained no response whatever, why, Sir, the hon. gentleman might fairly assume that we could not obtain any offers either. But as I say, when under a changed policy and when the Government had successfully grappled with the most difficult portions of this great work, and shown to the capitalists of the world, under the authority of this House, that one hundred million acres of land were placed at our disposal for the prosecution of the undertaking, that we were not afraid to go on with its construction, or afraid to show that the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was a work which, however gigantic in its nature, however onerous an undertaking was involved in the work, or however serious the liabilities it imposed, was capable of fulfilment; when, notwithstanding all this, we showed that we were not afraid to go forward and prove to the capitalists of the world that we ourselves had some confidence in this country and in its development, that we were prepared to grapple with this gigantic work, the aspect of affairs was wholly changed. Well, Sir, under these circumstances the Government submitted their policy to Parliament, and they were met by obstruction last Session; they were met by a complete change of front on the part of the Opposition in this House. The men who had for five years declared that they were prepared to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway as a public work, the men who had pledged themselves to British Columbia to construct it as a public work, and who had, in the House, in every way that men could, bound themselves, called a

halt in order to obstruct the Government when we took the only means by which we could remove the difficulty which had prevented the hon. gentleman from obtaining any offers in reply to the advertisement that he had sent all over the country. I hold the advertisement in my hand. It was published on the 29th May, 1876, and it says that "they invite tenders to be sent in on or before the 1st January, 1877, under the provisions of the Canadian Pacific Railway Act, 1874, which enacts that the contractors for its construction and working shall receive lands or the proceeds of lands." Mark the words "lands or proceeds of lands," they were not only to receive the lands, but they were to receive, if it were thought desirable, the proceeds of lands.

Mr. MACKENZIE. The hon. gentleman is not fair in stating that. I am surprised he should make that statement, for, if he looks at the Act, he will find that the arrangement was for the Government to sell two-thirds of the lands, and then to offer the proceeds to the contractors.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am glad that the hon. gentleman has reminded me of it, for we leave the contractors to bear the entire cost of disposing of the lands, whilst the hon. gentleman undertook to pay the cost of disposing of two-thirds of the land, and then give the proceeds to them without any deduction in the price. I am glad that he has mentioned it, because it shows how much greater than I am stating were the terms that he offered in this advertisement. Then it goes on to say "or the proceeds of the lands at the rate of twenty thousand acres, and each at the rate of ten thousand dollars for each mile of railway in the North-West, and at the rate of \$10,000 per mile, together with interest at the rate of 4 per cent. for twenty-five years from the completion of the work, on any further sum that may be stipulated in the contract, and the Act requiring parties generally to state in their offers the lowest sum per mile upon which interest may be required." That was adopted, and an advertisement published all over the world, in Great Britain, this country, and the United States. I presume he believed that under the circumstances to which I have adverted that the time had come when we might deal with the matter from a better position. I will frankly state to the House that one of the causes which led to the great change in the public sentiment in relation to the value of

land in the North-West, and of railway enterprise in the North-West, was the marked and wonderful success that was published to the world as having resulted from the Syndicate who had purchased the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, and became the proprietors of that line. The statements they were enabled to publish showed not only the rapidity with which railway construction in private hands could be carried on, but it showed the value of the prairie lands in the North-West, and the extent to which they could be made valuable for the construction of such lines. It attracted the attention of capitalists in relation to enterprises of that kind to a degree that had a very marked influence, undoubtedly, upon the public mind, in relation to this question. I may further frankly state to the House, because we have nothing to conceal, that when we decided that it was desirable for us to ask intending contractors and capitalists on what terms they would complete and take over the road of the Canadian Pacific Railway, we placed ourselves in communication with all the parties whom we had any reason to suppose would have any intention to contract for the purpose of getting their lowest possible offer. As my right hon. friend has stated, Canadian and American capitalists made proposals for the construction of the remaining portions of this work. The Government proposed to complete the line from Thunder Bay to the Red River. We proposed to complete the contracts that were made in British Columbia in the canyons of the Fraser River, and to carry the line on—for it was an absurdity for the terminus of the Canada Pacific to be at a place where there was only a depth of three feet of water, however advisable it might be for temporary purposes—and we proposed to complete ultimately ninety miles of a line from Emory's Bar to be constructed down to tide water at Port Moody, the harbor selected by the hon. gentleman opposite as the best terminus for the Canadian Pacific Railway. We are always ready, and are prepared, to give all the credit and praise that we possibly can give to our friends opposite, and we showed it by the adoption of the place which the hon. gentlemen in their wisdom had chosen as the terminus.

Mr. BLAKE. You said that it was premature.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I did say that it was premature, and we examined further before we adopted the route. We

considered all the routes which, in our judgment, were the best, but thought there was another investigation which should be made before finally deciding. After doing so, we found, notwithstanding some advantages in the northern route, that we were prepared to endorse the wisdom of the hon. gentlemen as to where the port for the terminus should be. We then proposed to complete the line from Thunder Bay to Red River, from Kamloops to Emory Bar, and ultimately down to Port Moody. We asked the parties upon what terms they would undertake to build the remaining portions of the line from Nipissing to Thunder Bay, the distance being about 650 miles; it has been chained for the first time during the past season, and is 652 miles. We asked upon what terms they would undertake to complete all the line from the Red River westward to Kamloops, and take over and own the whole road.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Will you place a copy of these propositions as you made them upon the Table?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes; I have no objection to do so; but it will give the hon. gentleman no additional information to what I have succinctly stated as having been decided.

Mr. MACKENZIE. And also the names of the parties to whom it was made.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I may say to the hon. gentleman that it was communicated.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Not by public advertisement, like mine.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. It was not; and I think we could have taken no better means of defeating the object we had in view than the very course that the hon. gentleman had taken. It was enough to deter anybody from looking at it, seeing that he had stated on the floor of Parliament that no offer could be obtained. We took a wiser plan, which has been crowned with success. By placing ourselves in communication with parties who were likely to make any propositions, we have the pleasure now of laying before the House a proposition to which, in its character and details, I shall invite more closely the attention of the House in comparison with the proposal previously made. I have

stated to the House that the contract which is now laid upon the Table, and which the resolution asks the House to adopt, secures the completion and the operation hereafter of the Canadian Pacific Railway by a private company, aided by a grant of money or lands, upon the most favorable terms that have ever been submitted to this House, or that have ever been proposed by any person in this country for the purpose of securing that object. I will give the data and the definite information for the grounds upon which I base that statement. I may state first that I have had a careful estimate prepared, and have laid it upon the Table, of the amount of money required to complete the road now under contract, and those portions of the road that are to be constructed by the Government, and it amounts in round figures to twenty-eight millions of dollars.

Mr. BLAKE. Is that inclusive of all that has been spent ?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. It is every dollar of expenditure that will come out of the Treasury of Canada for the existing contracts and for the completion of the road that is to be built by the Government.

Mr. BLAKE. Are these figures intended to represent the total cost of these works, including what has been spent ?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Every dollar of expenditure. It will be remembered that a year ago I made some remarks on this subject in this House, and I am told that some hon. gentlemen would like to have copies of the speech that I made on that occasion. I can only say, so far as the limited supply in my hands will enable me, that I shall be very glad to comply with that wish, because I am not at all unwilling that they should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest its contents, and hold me responsible for them.

Mr. BLAKE. I think I have heard much of this before.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman says that he has heard it before, but I have mainly occupied the attention of the House with more eloquent and able statements of the hon. gentleman opposite. I thought I had done him some justice, but after that reminder I will give the House directly some further statements which he will undoubtedly receive with more pleasure than anything of a

more original character. I may say to the House that we submitted the estimate of the Chief Engineer; it was published in a pamphlet which we used in the debate. The hon. gentleman, a short time ago, repeated the words I used in regard to the character of the road, by stating that it was a degraded road. That was literally and specifically correct, for I stated to the House that in the position the Government then were, with this gigantic work in hand, obliged to deal with it as a Government work; we felt compelled, after constructing the road to the Red River as a first class road, which we had carried out in accordance with the specifications and plans, very judicious specifications and plans of my hon friend opposite, to carry the road across the prairie of the very cheapest description of road that would answer for the business of the country, and be in the first instance a colonization road. The House will remember that that estimate was for \$84,000,000 for the work done in the mode in which we proposed to deal with it. That included eighty millions as the portion of money required for the road and the money expended upon surveys.

Mr. BLAKE. Does the eighty-four millions include that?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes; in the eighty-four millions were included the Pembina branch, which was estimated at \$1,700,000, and the surveys. I may state that this estimate which I have laid upon the Table differs in some measure from the estimate laid upon the Table last year, and I will tell you frankly why. We stated that we had made our calculations upon the outside estimates. We determined not to be in a position to have to say to the House that the estimates upon which money had been voted for the construction of the railway had been exceeded.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Which contract?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. All the contracts between Thunder Bay and the Red River.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Does the hon. gentleman say that he prepared these contracts, or that they were prepared in his time?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I say that we twice postponed the advertisement in order to get the most specific details.

Mr. MACKENZIE. What I wish to know is, whether the specifications were changed between the issuing of the tenders and the time when they were received.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. All I can say is that before we sent out the specifications or entertained tenders at all, in addition to the time that elapsed between the change of Government and our entry into office, we twice extended the time for receiving tenders so that the specifications might be made with sufficient accuracy. This estimate that is now prepared by the present Engineer, and which I have laid on the Table of the House,—the \$28,000,000—covers all the money that has been spent up to the present time, and all the money that in our judgment, in the light of the work that is now proceeding, will be required to complete it as required by the contract on the Table.

Mr. ANGLIN. The Yale-Kamloops section?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes; the Yale-Kamloops section and everything. I have already stated that the amount that is put in for engineering, apart from the construction, is \$1,600,000, and I draw that as a distinction between the three millions of dollars extended over the whole range of the Canadian Pacific Railway generally, and which has no relation whatever to the cost of this particular work that we are now handing over. This sum has no relation in this sense, that it does not appertain to the construction of that particular work.

Mr. BLAKE. It was part of the expense of finding the route on which the road was to be built, and therefore part of the cost of it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If the hon. gentleman will look at the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1874 of his hon. friend (Mr. Mackenzie), he will find that it distinctly states that these surveys are not necessarily to be paid for by the parties entering into the contract.

Mr. MACKENZIE. It says that is a matter to be provided for after the contract is entered into.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I stated frankly that the law provided that it might or might not be a charge on the contractors, but when it was left in that way it was not likely to be a charge on them.

Mr. MACKENZIE. It is a charge on the country at all events.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. This estimate which has been laid upon the Table does not include that cost for surveys. That, a year ago, I separated from the \$80,000,000 required for the Canadian Pacific Railway, but it does include all the other expenditure, as we believe that had been made, and all that will be involved in order to bring that work to completion. I will now draw attention to the estimates of the contract as laid on the Table of the House. The estimated distance, and the distance which is contracted for, and which is binding on the contractors, is 2,627 miles ; and I may state that, suppose the contractors were to change the road—suppose they were to go north of Lake Nepigon instead of south of it, and add fifty miles to the length of the road, they would not receive an additional dollar over and above the amount stated in the contract.

Sir ALBERT J. SMITH. Suppose they shorten it ?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If they shorten it, I should be very glad to find that they do, and they will receive the amount stated in the contract if they do so. We have chained the route, as I say, and the distance is 652 miles, but it is not very easy to locate a railway for construction quite as short as the chained distance. I think that will be readily understood. I will now take up in the contract all these propositions in the order in which they have been laid on the Table of this House—the order in which they have been voted by this Parliament. I will take up the propositions of 1873, the authority that Parliament gave to the then Government to secure the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was a cash subsidy of \$30,000,000, for the main line of 2,627 miles (I am putting the mileage upon the present route for the purpose of contrast), and the land grant of 50,000,000 acres ; 20,000 acres per mile for the Pembina Branch, making 1,700,000 acres, and 25,000 acres per mile on 120 miles for the Nepigon Branch, making 3,000,000 acres ; so that Parliament, in 1872, voted 54,700,000 acres. If you estimate the land at some particular value for the purpose of comparison—

Mr. BLAKE. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Call it one dollar per acre, and I am sure, unbelieving as my hon. friend, the leader of the

Opposition is, unbelieving and wanting in confidence, as he has induced the leader of the late Government to become in the value of these lands, I am almost sure that, with the help of the *Globe*, I could work them up to the belief that these lands are worth a dollar an acre. I despair of getting them further than that, even with that potent assistance, but I hope to bring them up to the belief that these lands are worth a dollar an acre. For purposes of comparison, then, we will call it worth a dollar an acre. This Parliament voted in land and money a subsidy of \$84,700,000, and placed it at the disposal of the Government for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. How has that proposition been treated? Why, Sir, as I have stated, a company was formed, a contract was made with them under the terms of which they were clothed with all the powers and means that we could give them, to command the money markets of the world, and they could not do it.

MR. ANGLIN. I thought it was he who spoiled it.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. leader of the late Government has ever since poured unbounded ridicule on that proposition; he has always considered those terms inadequate to secure the construction of the great Pacific Railway. The hon. gentleman, on the platform, in my presence, declared—and he could not have poured greater ridicule on the project than by the expression he used—that we might as well offer ten dollars as thirty millions of dollars and fifty million acres of land to secure the Canadian Pacific Railway. From that day to this—not quite to this, but until a few months ago—until the contract was made, every person in this country had been led to believe (our own friends as well as our opponents) that the hon. gentleman was right; that those terms were inadequate, and the experience of our Government and the subsequent five years of the late Administration had gone to prove that they were inadequate; and the hon. gentleman will find that last year, when I was *in extremis*, when I was met by hon. gentlemen opposite, raising a hue and cry that we were going to ruin this country by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the necessity was great to reduce as low as possible the construction of this work, the lowest estimate that I could submit to this House, for what I admit is a degraded road, was \$80,000,000. I now come to the

proposition of 1874. And what does that show? The hon. gentleman got Parliament to vote for the construction of 2,627 miles of the through lines from Lake Nipissing to Burrard Inlet, for 85 miles of the Pembina branch, and for 85 miles of the Georgian Bay branch—2,797 miles—all of which are contained in the Act, and all declared to be treated on the same terms, and entitled to the same amount as if they were on the main line——

Mr. MACKENZIE. I was not aware that that Act declared Burrard Inlet to be the terminus.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman ought scarcely to interrupt me with a captious objection of that kind, which has nothing to do with the question. He knows that, as a matter of comparison, I must take a definite route, and he knows also that he was dealing with the Burrard Inlet route, because he was dealing with the route that he should decide was the best, and he did decide that the Burrard Inlet was the best. The hon. gentleman should not, therefore, interrupt me with such a frivolous objection which has nothing to do with the subject, but which is calculated to draw me aside from the argument. Well, what did it amount to? It amounted to this, that with the shortest route——

Mr. MACKENZIE. No.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The shortest route, because if the hon. gentleman takes any other practicable route he will increase the distance.

Mr. MACKENZIE. No.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Not the shortest. There are shorter routes.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I come to the Act—the law put on the Statute-book by the hon. gentleman himself—the authority that this Parliament gave him to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway and what does it enact? It says that on this 2,797 miles, including the main line and branches, he got voted, not by estimate, but by authority of a statute, to use \$10,000,000 for that distance, which is 2,797 miles. And, Sir, he got authority to give 20,000 acres of land for every mile of that distance, which amounted to 55,940,100 acres.

Mr. BLAKE. Not on every mile.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. On every mile, as the hon. gentleman will see by the Act of 1874.

Mr. BLAKE. I thought the contract for the Georgian Bay branch was not based on a land subsidy at all.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. This was Mr. Foster's contract, which gave 20,000 acres of land, and if the land could not be got along the line, it was to be taken anywhere else in the Dominion.

Mr. MACKENZIE. We do not own the land there at all.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. It had to be got in the North-West.

Mr. MACKENZIE. That is perfectly well known.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The contract makes it a doubtful question whether it could be obtained from the Province of Ontario or not. At that time the hon. gentleman had some hopes of acting on the sense of justice of the Province of Ontario, and he might have obtained some land from them.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Formal application was made.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes; but not successfully; that Act also provides for four per cent. on such additional amount as would be required by the contractors in order to build the road. The hon. gentleman published his advertisement for six months without getting any response. Now, how shall we arrive at the amount that was to be paid, in comparison with the other contract? There is a very satisfactory mode. The hon. gentleman let the contract for 85 miles, and although I am prepared to admit that that portion of the road is more difficult of construction than a great deal of the Pacific Railway, still the hon. gentleman will not deny that it is a very fair average.

Mr. MACKENZIE. I do.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Then, Sir, I have lost confidence in the hon. gentleman altogether. Has the hon. gentleman forgotten that when the Foster contract was cancelled, and we stated that he was not as wise in letting this contract as he might have been, he scouted the idea, and said there was no difficulty whatever, and that the contract was not abandoned for any such reason as was alleged.

Mr. MACKENZIE. I could only state what the engineers stated.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I have no doubt, when the hon. gentleman made that statement, he believed it to be the truth. If the hon. gentleman will look at the line north of Lake Superior and examine the character of a considerable portion of it, and then examine the character of the line from the canyons of the Fraser River or from the foot of the Rocky Mountains and thence to Kamloops, Emory's Bar and on to Burrard Inlet, I think he will agree that the Georgian Bay Branch is a fair average of the whole line. When the hon. gentleman advertised he obtained a tender from Mr. Munson, of Boston, at four per cent. on \$7,500, while the Foster tender was four per cent. on \$12,500, and the other tenders were vastly beyond that sum. Mr. Foster became possessed of the lowest tender—that is, Mr. Munson's; a contract was made with him, and that contract I have in my hand. You will find that it provides for paying Mr. Foster \$10,000 in cash per mile, 20,000 acres of land per mile, and four per cent. for 25 years on \$7,500. But I must remind the House that after Mr. Foster had gone to New York and exhausted every effort he could make in England, he found he could not get a capitalist in the world to invest a dollar in his contract; so that when I take that contract as a fair average of the cost to be added to the amount for which the hon. gentleman had authority from Parliament to use, I think I have taken an average which every business man will admit is a moderate one. The interest, at four per cent, on \$7,500 is \$300 a year per mile, and adding that to the amount I have stated, and on the 2,977 miles we have \$20,977,500.

Mr. BLAKE. Why do you not capitalize that sum?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I do not capitalize at all, but it would have to be paid in money as the other is paid.

Mr. BLAKE. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that when we incur an obligation under a contract we have not the money to pay?

Mr. BLAKE. The obligation to pay year by year for 25 years, does not mean the gross sum of those payments added together, as everybody knows.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. No, Mr. Speaker, but it means a very much less sum. Let the hon. gentleman apply that principle to the \$25,000,000 we are to pay the Syndicate, and he will find that it means a very much less sum too. The hon. gentleman will find that by the terms under which Parliament, in 1874, authorized the late Government to secure the construction of the Pacific Railway. The amount to be paid in cash was \$48,947,500, which, with 55,940,100 acres of land at \$1 per acre, would make \$104,887,502—the lowest amount, as the hon. gentleman must admit, which could represent accurately the amount to be expended upon that scheme.

It being Six o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.

AFTER RECESS.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER, resuming, said: Mr. Chairman, when the recess took place, I was dealing with the question of the amount that Parliament had placed at the disposal of my hon. friend, the then leader of the Government, for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I find, Sir, that I have made a slight mistake, which I take the earliest opportunity of correcting; I stated the distance from Nipissing to Burrard Inlet at 2,627 miles; I must add 40 miles to that distance in computing the amount which (the Act of 1874) Parliament placed at the disposal of the leader of the Government for the construction of the railway, because, you will remember, the then Government located the terminus of the railway, not at the Callendar Station on Lake Nipissing, where it is now located, and where it was originally located by the former Government, but forty miles south of that point. Therefore, under that Act, the hon. gentleman would not only have been obliged to expend \$104,887,500 at the lowest computation, but to provide for the construction on the same terms of 40 miles more, to bring the railway down to the terminus as located by the then Government. That will add \$400,000 in cash, \$300,000 in money at four per cent on \$7,500 per mile, for 25 years, and \$800,000 in land at a dollar an acre, or \$1,500,000 annually, to make the estimate strictly correct—in all \$106,387,500. Now, Sir, having shown that Parliament had placed at the disposal of the Government of my right hon. friend (Sir John A. Macdonald) in 1872 \$84,700,000 for the construction of the work, and that Par-

liament had placed \$104,887,500 at the disposal of the leader of the Government in 1874—to which we must add the \$1,500,000 to which I have just referred—I now come to the present contract, which is laid on the Table of the House for its consideration. For that portion of the line from Fort William to Selkirk, 410 miles, the Pembina branch, 85 miles, and that portion from Kamloops to Burrard Inlet, 217 miles—all of which, amounting to 712 miles, when the whole line is completed, is to be handed over as the property of the Company—the total amount expended and to be expended by the Government, including everything, is \$28,000,000. For the construction of the road from Lake Nipissing to Fort William, 650 miles, and from Selkirk to Kamloops, 1,350 miles—2,000 miles in all—the Government have agreed to pay, in addition to the \$28,000,000, \$25,000,000 and 25,000,000 acres of land; making a total subsidy in cash of \$53,000,000, and in land—estimating the 25,000,000 acres at the same rate that I have estimated the land under the contract of 1873 and under the Act of 1874, one dollar an acre—of \$25,000,000; or a total amount to be expended by Canada for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway of \$78,000,000. I think this warrants the statement with which I commenced my remarks, that these terms are greatly below any terms that have previously been obtained or sanctioned by Parliament for the construction of this great work. The matter then stands thus: under the contract of 1873, \$84,700,000; under the contract of 1874, \$104,887,500, with \$1,500,000 added to bring the road down to the point at which, under that Act, it was to be commenced; under the contract of 1880, now laid on the Table of the House, \$78,000,000. Now, Sir, let me draw the attention of the House for a moment, in order to show that in taking the Foster contract as the base of calculation as to what the cost under the Act of 1874 would have been, if it could have been accomplished at all, it was a reasonable estimate, an estimate, in fact, below the mark, to the words of the leader of the late Government with reference to the character of that section. The hon. gentleman said, as will be found in the *Hansard* of 1876:—“Because he would probably refer to this matter at another time in the House, he would now simply say this: that what was published in many newspapers as to engineering difficulties encountered in this relation was entirely fallacious. No difficulty

had been experienced in obtaining the grade that was required in the original contract, the gradient not exceeding 26 feet per mile for the country eastward and 52 for the country westward. In only two places was there any difficulty in securing these gradients; and these the engineers assures me can easily be overcome. The explorations in the immediate vicinity of French river show that the line traverses a rocky though not a hilly country." This shows that I have ground, from the opinion of the hon. gentleman, for my statement that that would be a fair estimate. I will now draw attention of the hon. gentlemen opposite to an authority with reference to the terms. This may be necessary as the position now taken by the Opposition, as may be assumed by that taken by the *Globe*, is that it is idle to talk about estimating the land at \$1 per acre, when every one knows that it is worth \$2 per acre. Well, I shall be only too glad if that can be established, but it will not do for the leader of the Opposition or the leader of the Government to meet me on that ground, and I will show you why. I draw the attention of the Committee to the statement made by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Blake) when we were discussing the Foster contract, and I had ventured to value the land at \$2 an acre. That was in 1875, and the hon. gentleman will find his remarks on page 541 of the *Hansard*. The hon. gentleman said, in reference to myself:

"We have found him putting a value of his own upon the land subsidy. We have found him exaggerating other items to be taken into account, and we have found him thus making a total which I do not think the House will agree is a correct one in that matter. As I understand the figures, the cost of building the Georgian Bay Branch, a distance of 85 miles, is as follows: Subsidy, \$10,000 per mile, \$850,000; guarantee of four per cent. interest on \$7,500 for 20 years, which, I am told, capitalized, is equivalent to \$4,000 in cash per mile. That we make \$340,000, giving \$1,190,000 as a total value of the cash to be expended by the country in the construction of the Georgian Bay Branch. With reference to the 20,000 acres of land subsidy, the hon. member for Cumberland calculates it at \$2 an acre. I do not believe the House will accept that calculation. I am quite sure, if the hon. gentleman proposed that a negotiation be entered into with the contractor for the release of that land, he would find him quite willing to get rid of it at a much less rate than he has valued the land at. It is an entirely absurd calculation to say that these 1,700,000 acres are worth \$2 an acre to this country. Even valuing them at \$1 an acre would, in my judgment, be an excessive valuation. But even valuing them at \$1 you would then have \$2,890,000 as cash and land which the Georgian Bay Branch would cost."

Then the leader of the late Government gave his opinion on

the subject. My right hon. friend said: "You are going to give 50,000,000 acres of land away." Mr. Mackenzie said: "Yes; only I do not place their value at \$5 an acre, I wish I could say that they were worth one dollar an acre." But whatever the value may be, I am confident I express the views of the Committee when I say that whatever value may be obtained for them over one dollar per acre, and I hope it will be greatly over that rate, will be obtained, not in their present position, but in consequence of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1879, the hon. gentleman said:

"I do not understand why the hon. gentleman anticipates a large revenue from the lands to be sold, because it is absolutely indispensable, in order to induce settlers to go into the country, that we should furnish them with the lands free of charge. Does the hon. gentleman imagine that settlers will go to the North-West and buy lands at \$2 an acre when there are millions of acres of land offered for nothing in the United States?"

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If we are able to make these lands worth \$2 an acre, we will do it by the agency now proposed to construct the railway, by the expenditure asked for the purpose of ensuring its construction. The leader of the late Government also said:

"We must, therefore, make up our minds if we *are* to settle that country, it will be done only at the expenditure of a large amount of money to aid settlers on going in and giving them land free after they get in. That is my conviction. If the hon. gentleman's expectation should be realized of getting \$2 per acre for those 100,000,000 acres, I will confess to him that I have been utterly mistaken in my ideas upon this subject."

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. So much for the value of the lands. Now, Sir, as to the cost of the work. I have estimated the lands at \$1 per acre, but I will assume, for the sake of meeting the present views of hon. gentlemen opposite half way, that they will be worth \$1.50 per acre, and we will see then how the account will stand as between hon. gentlemen and ourselves; how far my statement with which I opened this discussion will be borne out when I stated that the terms upon which we now ask this House to secure the construction and operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway are greatly below any terms that have ever been offered in this House or submitted to the

consideration of the people of Canada. If you value the lands at \$1 per acre, the contract of 1873 founded upon the offer to secure the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the Allan Company will show a total of \$112,050,000. How will the account then stand? Applying the same principle to the Act of 1874, it will show \$132,857,500 placed at the disposal of the Government of my hon. friend opposite for securing the construction of the road. Placing the lands at \$1.50 an acre, how stands the contract we have laid on the Table? It shows a total of \$90,500,000. If we go the whole length the *Globe* asks, and I do not say it is unreasonable, if we assume those lands to be worth, after the construction of the road, \$2 an acre, how will the account stand as between those various proposals submitted for the consideration of Parliament in former times, and readily accepted by it, and the proposal we now lay on the Table? The first proposition, that of 1873, placed at the disposal of the Government lands and money worth \$138,400,000. The amounts placed at the disposal of the late Governments in 1874, valuing the lands at \$2 an acre was \$160,827,500 on the 2,797 miles. The present proposition, valuing the lands at \$2 an acre, reaches a total of only \$103,000,000, or less than the amount at \$1 an acre, placed at the disposal of the late Government by Parliament for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I think this statement ought to be tolerably satisfactory to any hon. gentleman who wishes to make a fair and just comparison of the proposals previously submitted with the present proposal. I will give an authority on this subject, because that derisive cheer from the member for Lambton intimates that he is not satisfied; that he is still doubtful as to my having maintained the position with which I set out, that the terms now submitted for the ratification of Parliament are greatly below any terms ever submitted and approved of. I will now give hon. gentlemen opposite an authority as to the cost of this work, about to be undertaken, that I think they will be compelled to accept. It is the authority of their own statements, of their own opinions, and I think I will show, from the opinions of the leader of the late Government and the late Finance Minister, that the cost of this work is such as to justify any intelligent man in accepting the propositions now submitted, as eminently advantageous in the interest of the country, and as not

beyond what the parties undertaking to perform such work are entitled to receive. On the 12th of May, 1874, Mr. Mackenzie said :

“From that point westward it is quite clear that there is no means of rapid communication except by building a railway, and this portion in British Columbia alone would take \$35,000,000, and from the point which Mr. Fleming calculates as the centre of the Rocky Mountains eastward to the junction with navigation, would probably be \$100,000,000 or something like that.

There is an estimate from the leader of the late Government, the then Minister of Public Works, and submitted to Parliament on the authority of his own engineers with all the judgment and experience that could be brought to bear upon it, that \$100,000,000 would be required for the road from Lake Superior, at Thunder Bay, to the Pacific Ocean ; and yet the present proposition secures the construction of the entire road within ten years from the 1st July next, from Lake Nipissing to Burrard Inlet, at a cost to the country, at the estimate hon. gentlemen opposite placed on the lands, of \$78,000,000. One would have supposed the member for Lambton would have stood aghast at such an estimate as \$100,000,000 for the portion of the road mentioned, and would have abandoned it as beyond the resources of Canada. But standing as Prime Minister and weighted with the responsibility which rests on such a high officer, he felt he must not shrink from his duty, and he stated of the section in British Columbia, that would cost \$35,000,000, “we propose to proceed with it as rapidly as we are able to obtain a completion of surveys.” He also proposed to expend \$100,000,000, if necessary, to connect the waters of Lake Superior with the tidal waters of the Pacific. The leader of the late Government also said :

“We frankly recognize the failure of the attempt to give a fictitious value to lands, in order to get English capitalists to take up the railway ; but we also frankly confess the necessity of building the railway by direct money subsidies, or a combined system of giving both money and land.”

The hon. gentleman gallantly performed his duty, and did not shrink from the responsibility, arduous and responsible as was his position, of discharging the duty imposed. He said :

“We propose to give a specific sum per mile, in the first place of \$10,000 per mile, and, in the next place, a grant the same as that proposed by the late Government of 20,000 acres, the disposal of which I will attend to presently ; and then we invite intending competitors to state the

amount for which they will require the guarantee at 4 per cent., in order to give them what they may deem a sufficient sum wherewith to build the road. We know that some think \$10,000 per mile and 20,000 acres of land, supposing they realise, on an average, \$1 an acre, will not build the road. It would more than build it in some parts, but from end to end it is evident it will not build it. I do not know, and have no means of estimating the probable expenditure per mile further than that to be derived from our own experience and that of our neighbors. The Inter-colonial Railway will cost about \$45,000 a mile, traversing, on the whole, a very favorable country, and possessing the most ample means of access at various points on its course, and with the additional advantage of having procured the iron structures and rails when there was a very great depression in the prices of iron. The Northern Pacific Railway, in the accounts published by the Company, has cost, so far as it has been carried—that is to Red River—\$47,000 or \$48,000 per mile in round numbers. Well, Sir, that road traverses almost wholly a prairie region, easily accessible and where materials were easily found, and is altogether quite as favorable as the most favorable spot of any part of our territories, with this advantage, that it was much nearer to the producers of supplies than any portion of our line, except that on the immediate borders of the Lake. The Central Pacific I will not touch, as the cost of that road was so enormous as not to afford any guide at all, because of the extraordinary amount of jobbing connected with it. But, judging from the cost of our own railways, we have no reason to suppose it will be possible to construct this line from end to end at a less price than \$40,000 per mile, and it may exceed that by several thousands of dollars. Parts of it will, of course, exceed that very much, though on the whole of the sections east of the Rocky Mountains, something in the neighborhood of that figure will cover the outlay. Well, Sir, we propose to donate \$10,000 per mile to the companies, and a guarantee of 4 per cent. on a sum to be named by them in their tenders, and whatever sum they may name will be the determining point as to which of the tenders is the lowest, the grant of land being also absolutely in each case 20,000 acres. I have already said I consider the building of this road to be one that has to be borne by the people of this country. It is quite useless to suppose that the road can, for the present time, or for some time to come, be regarded as a purely or even partially commercial enterprise, because I do not expect that any commercial advantage can, by any possibility, arise to a company constructing this road for many years to come; and, as I believe in a perfectly frank, honest opinion in regard to these matters, as the only mode in which the affairs of the country can be legitimately carried on, I give free expression to my views on that matter."

I think almost every word I have read will be, although not entirely new, looked upon as frank and fair an estimate as the hon. gentleman ever submitted to the House.

"Well, Sir, we now desire the gentlemen who undertook that responsibility to show us how it is possible to construct a railway 2,500 miles long, with a population of four millions, passing almost its entire length through an uninhabited country, and for a still greater portion of its length through a country of very rough character."

I am glad the time as come when, in response to the hon. gentleman, we are in a position to show him how that

gigantic work can be accomplished, and upon terms more favorable than any the most sanguine person in this country ventured to look for.

"I believe," continued the hon. gentleman, "there can be no question that whoever builds the road, and whenever it may be built, it must be constructed with money furnished by the people of this country. We know, Sir, that the obligations imposed with the building of the road will not terminate with the conclusion of its construction."

I ask the hon. gentleman not to forget, now that he is sitting on the Opposition benches, that in estimating this cost, as a Minister, he felt that he would not be doing his duty if he did not draw the attention of the House to the fact that when this road is constructed the liability resting upon the country will not be discharged, but just commencing. He went on to say :

"Supposing it only takes the minimum amount estimated by Mr. Sandford Fleming, \$100,000,000, you have pretty good appreciation of what it would cost the country in the end. When you double the debt of the country you will not be able to accomplish the borrowing of the sum of money required to build the road, paying the attendant expenses of management, and the debt, and everything else connected with it."

That hon. gentleman opposite, last Session, enforced very strongly upon our attention the fact that if we went on with this work as a Government work, and stood pledged in the face of the country, and of the financial world, to an expenditure of eighty to a hundred million dollars for the construction of the railway, we could hardly be surprised if it increased the cost of money we were obliged to borrow in the money markets of the world.

"You will not be able, I say, to borrow the required amount of money at less than six per cent. on the amount."

Not an extravagant statement, certainly, in view of the great liability that would be involved by undertaking to furnish all the money for the construction of the road.

"If you add six per cent. upon the minimum amount to the existing obligations of the country, you will have, in addition to our present annual burdens, six millions of dollars, which, added together, would make a continuous application of twelve millions of dollars before you have a cent to apply to the ordinary business of the country."

A rather startling ground for the hon. gentleman to take, but one which commended itself to all those who listened to the hon. gentleman's address.

"Then we come to the consideration of what would be the position of the road after it was completed, supposing we were able to fulfill the

obligations which hon. gentlemen opposite undertook; and supposing we finished it in seven years, we have Mr. Fleming's authority—assuming him as an authority, and I think he is very much within the bounds—that until at least three millions of people are drawn into that uninhabited territory, it is quite impossible to expect the road to pay its running expenses. Mr. Fleming estimates these at not less than eight million dollars per annum, and they have still further to be supplemented by the proportion of money required each year to renew the road. It is known, moreover, to railway authorities, that, considering the difficulties of climate, and with the ordinary traffic, the road will require renewal, that is the renewal of sleepers and rails, every eight or ten years on an average. No doubt that steel rails substituted for iron, the time for their renewal would be considerably enlarged, but to what extent I am at present unable to say."

First we would pay \$100,000,000 to build the road; next \$8,000,000 annually to operate it, subject to the deduction of whatever traffic the road received, and, thirdly, we would have to renew the sleepers and rails every eight years, unless we used steel rails. This is the pleasant picture which the hon. gentleman himself drew for the consideration of the House and country. And now it appears he hesitates to secure the construction and operation of the road for ever at a cost of \$78,000,000. When the hon. gentleman arrived at this point I resolved to ask the question, "What do you estimate as the duration of the ordinary rails?" The hon. gentleman replied:

"From eight to ten years. That, at least, is the opinion of Mr. Walter Shan y, whom I assume to be a competent authority. Supposing, then, that the road was completed, we would have, in addition to the burden imposed upon us by the interest of the money, to provide for the working of the railway, a sum at least equal to that amount, or six millions every year in order to keep it in repair."

My hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, no longer than a year ago, in the light of all the information and experience which the five years' administration of the hon. member for Lambton afforded him, was good enough to give to the House his opinion as to the cost of this road and the liability that would be incurred; and I invite—before the hon. gentleman takes the position of refusing his assent to this contract, which, I venture to say, he cannot afford as a public man to take—his attention to his own estimate as he gave it a year ago. It will be found on page 1441 of *Hansard*. He said:

"Again, of course, the through traffic depends on the road being first-class, and we will remember that, after we have spent all the hon. Minister proposes, we shall have, not a Pacific, but a colonization road."

That was true, and the hon. gentleman was only doing his duty in calling the attention of the House to the fact that if, in grappling with this work, we reduced the expenditure to a minimum, we should have only a colonization road. But what else does he say ?

"According to the old system of construction, that central section would cost, including the other item I have mentioned, altogether over \$42,500,000, leaving out entirely both ends. What are the ends to cost ? \$45,000,000 is, as I have stated, the cost from Edmonton to Burrard Inlet on the West ; and from Fort William to Nipissing on the East. The hon. member for Lambton estimates it at a length of about 650 miles and a cost of \$32,500,000. Thus the ends made up together \$77,000,000 the centre and the past expenditure \$42,500,000, making a total of \$120,000,000."

And yet the hon. gentleman is startled and astonished, and exhibits the most wonderful alarm when he finds a proposal laid on the Table of the House to secure the construction of all that work, which, at the cheapest rate, was to cost \$120,000,000, for \$78,000,000—putting the outside value on the land that the hon. gentleman is willing to admit is worth. The hon. gentleman proceeded to say that, "besides this enormous expenditure, to which he had referred, they had to consider running expenses, which Mr. Fleming estimated at eight millions, and which his hon. friend estimated at the gross sum of \$6,750,000 a year, for the whole line, or \$4,500,000 a year from Fort William to the Pacific. Of course, against this sum was to be set receipts, which in some sections perhaps, would meet expenditure ; but, in the early days, if not for a long time, he believed, the road would have to be run at a loss." I know that this is an authority for which the hon. leader of the Opposition has most profound respect, and I trust that, in submitting such criticism as, in the interests of country, every great measure of this kind ought to receive, the hon. gentleman will not lose sight of the position he took in criticising our proposals twelve months ago. I will again revert to a criticism with relation to the cost, of more valuable character than that of the leader of the Opposition. No person, perhaps, esteems the hon. gentleman's ability, certainly as a special pleader, higher than myself, or his general judgment when he gives questions the fair, candid and unbiassed examination which questions like this deserves, but does not always receive ; but I will give the House an opinion, which I estimate more highly than that of the leader of the Opposition, the opinion

of a gentleman who, for five years, as leader of the Government of the country, dealt with this question, and was conversant with all its details, I mean the hon. leader of the late Government. After all his experience, and after a year in the Opposition, as well as of five years of Administration, he undertook to give to the House his estimate as to what that road would cost, and I frankly confess that I am not for a moment disposed to question the value of his judgment. He said :

"I will take the description of the engineers themselves, as to the character of the work upon the several sections from Fort William to Selkirk, and carry out figures elsewhere on the same description. Seventy miles were described as heavy, 226 miles moderate, and 114 miles light; and, in order to reach the \$18,000,000, which the engineers had recently estimated, they would have to take the seventy miles of heavy work at \$75,000 per mile; the 226 miles of moderate might, at \$39,000, and the 114 light at \$20,000, making altogether, with the rolling stock valued at \$1,656,000, \$18,000,000. From Selkirk to Battleford, the first 112 are described as light, which, with the rails, fencing, etc., might be estimated at \$14,000 per mile, or \$3,000 less than the Pembina Branch; and the second 100 miles I have taken and calculated as to the materials furnished Mr. Marcus Smith, and I do not believe that any gradient can be obtained on that section to build the road at less than \$20,000 per mile."

Subsequent events have thrown perhaps a good deal of light on the tenders sent in and contract undertaken. No progress was made on the contract, as the hon. gentleman knows, and the judgment which the hon. gentleman had given as to cost, had thereby received very considerable confirmation. He further said :

"We have in some miles a quantity of 39,000 cubic yards of earth to move, and all grades steep, only kept fifty-three feet to the mile—many of them are fifty-three feet. The average of excavation is 16,000 cubic yards per mile. We have, in short, 1,600,000 yards of earth to move, which, at the lowest price per yard obtained on other roads, say twenty-five cents on the average, this of itself will cost \$400,000." * * * *

"This was almost the exact value of the earth work alone, leaving nothing for bridges, ties, rails, building fences, and other items" * * *

"From the end of the second two hundred miles to Battleford we have 377 miles. This is not any heavier on the whole. There are some more formidable bridges, but the line is further off for the carriage of the rails. I place that section at \$21,000 per mile."

I draw the attention of the hon. gentleman to this now in connection with the amount proposed to be paid under this contract for the central section. As I have stated, opinions which the hon. gentleman has formed after long experience,

as to the lowest amount at which it could be constructed, are entitled to very great consideration.

Mr. MACKENZIE. You did not give much attention to them a year ago.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman says I did not pay much attention to them a year ago, but looked at it in the light of subsequent events, I am disposed to admit that there is a great deal in the argument of the hon. gentleman. He again said:

"Then from Battleford to Edmonton, it is reported by the engineers as thirteen miles very heavy; this I estimate as \$60,000 a mile, being \$10,000 less than the other heavy work east of Selkirk."

I hope that when the hon. gentleman has criticized the amount which we propose to pay in the central section, he will not forget that it covers 13 miles, which he estimates at \$60,000 a mile, \$10,000 less than for the heavy work east of Selkirk. Still further:

"Forty-nine miles more of the line classed as moderately heavy, I put at \$39,000 per mile; and seventy miles very moderate, at \$25,000, with ninety-eight miles of very light work at \$20,000 per mile, which makes for this section altogether an average of \$27,000 per mile."

The hon. gentleman said we have constructed the line from Pembina to Selkirk, 85 miles. This is a prairie, and a most favorable region, and he stated that the amount I submitted on estimate last year of \$1,750,000 for the Pembina Branch, but that included more than my estimate now includes for the Pembina Branch, and for the reason, as hon. gentlemen will see, the heavy expenditure charged to that branch for workshops, rolling stock, etc., will now devolve upon the Company, and consequently now reduce the estimate to \$1,500,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Give us a detail of the reductions.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. All I can say is, that I took the estimate of the engineer, charging what was fairly chargeable to that road—buildings in connection with its operation—and the amount of the Pembina Branch was therefore placed at \$1,750,000. We now reduce that by \$250,000 because, as I say, the expenditure we would have had to make immediately in connection with the work now devolves upon the Syndicate under the contract. But, Sir, the House will see that, according to the estimate which I laid on the Table last year, and which hon. gentlemen thought altogether

below the mark, the Pembina Branch—a prairie line from end to end, no very heavy bridging, no serious muskegs, no difficulties really to be encountered, a fair prairie section—according to my own estimate last year was over \$20,000 a mile; according to my estimate now laid on the Table of the House, the Pembina Branch will cost the Government of this country, when it is handed over to the Syndicate, \$17,270 a mile. The hon. gentleman continued :

“This would make the entire cost of the road west of Lake Superior including \$1,144,000 for the Canada Central subsidy, \$100,000 for the Selkirk bridge, \$300,000 for engineering over 1,946 miles, \$89,002,000.

Now, there is his opinion. I have shown the opinion of the hon. leader of the Opposition that this work, for which we have shown the contract, asks Parliament to place at our disposal \$78,000,000. According to the estimate of the leader of the Opposition a year ago was to cost \$120,000,000, and, according to the estimate—the more mature and reduced estimate of the hon. gentleman best qualified to judge on that side of the House—was to cost this country \$89,002,000 in cash. There was no question of land; we are dealing with the lowest estimate of the cost in cash taken out of the treasury of Canada, and the estimate of the hon. leader of the Opposition was, in round numbers, \$90,000,000, after all the information he had on the subject. But I am wrong; I am doing the hon. gentleman a great injustice.

MR. BLAKE. The estimate I gave was that of the hon. member for Lambton.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER. So I see. I thought it was that of the hon. member for Lambton, but the case is a great deal stronger. I am not even able to show there is a diversity of opinion between the hon. gentlemen. I find that they worked it pretty nearly to the same figure. I was leaving out that section north of Lake Superior, but the hon. member for Lambton brings that in, and shows that west of Lake Superior, from Thunder Bay to the Pacific, the lowest that we could build it for was \$89,000,000 in cash. That is the lowest. Let us see what he says about the railway to the head of Lake Superior.

“While from Fort William to Nipissing, 650 miles, estimating the cost at \$50,000 per mile, would make it \$32,500,000, or a total of \$121,700,000.”

So that these gentlemen are not open to the challenge that on a great public question their estimate differs. After

careful consideration, weighing well the responsibility of placing before the House statements that were cautious, judicious, and safe, upon which the people of this country could safely base their estimates, both of these gentlemen agreed a year ago that to build the Canadian Pacific Railway with money borrowed for the purpose and expended in cash, the correct estimate that this railway from Lake Nipissing to Port Moody, Burrard Inlet, could be accomplished for, was \$120,000,000 to \$121,700,000. There was only about a million and a half between them.

"It will be observed, if we apply the figures as I apply them, that is calculating the expenditure east of Red River, between Lake Superior and Selkirk, that it would be impossible to obtain the same character of road as to gradients and curvature for less than I have estimated, I am sure I am within the line in stating these figures, and that it would be impossible to construct anything that could be called a railway—nothing better than a tramway, for less."

That amount is \$84,000,000, and yet it was only to be a tramway, and the only possible means of getting a line that could be called a railway was by an expenditure of \$121,000,000, the amount given by the hon. gentleman. He continues :

"The hon. Minister of Railways thinks it matters little what grades we have west of Winnipeg. He thinks it will suffice for traffic. I observe that the Chief Engineer, with his usual caution, does not speak of it as the Canadian Pacific Railway at all. He speaks of it as a colonization road, and it is only that. The hon. Minister of Railways is entitled to the credit or discredit of this new plan of degrading the railway into a track that will not be fit for heavy traffic."

I am thankful for small favors, and I am willing to take the credit or discredit of having stated frankly to the House that my idea was not to obtain a first class railway, but the cheapest description of road that would answer for colonization purposes. I have given the House the estimates of the two hon. gentlemen sitting one to the right, one to the left of the late Minister of Finance, and I should be wanting very much in my duty to the House, if I did not show them that that hon. gentleman himself did not regard the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway as a very light matter, and held very much the views and opinions of his two honorable colleagues Sir Richard Cartwright, in 1874, in his Budget speech, said :

"In order rightly to understand the extent of the burden we would be required to take upon ourselves for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, it must be remembered that the lowest estimate for building this road to the Pacific is something over \$100,000,000, and this, too; on

the supposition that a very much longer time would be given for construction. * * * Now, Mr. Chairman, I spoke before recess of the expense arising from the workings of the Intercolonial Railway and other railways of the Dominion, chiefly in the Maritime Provinces. The deficiencies resulting from these sources amount to the extraordinary sum of about \$1,250,000. I desire to call the special attention of the House, which must be clear to every hon. gentleman, these railways run for the most part through a country which has been settled for the last fifty or sixty years. I cannot refer, of course, to the fact that these railways entail such an enormous expenditure without its becoming apparent to the House that the cost of maintaining a railway nearly 3,000 miles in length, passing through a country almost entirely uninhabited, must of necessity be very much greater. For a long time after the construction of the railway an enormous charge must be entailed to keep the line in full working order and good repair, and this fact must be steadily kept sight of in considering the real character of the project."

I trust that I have given to the House sufficient evidence to show not only that the proposition which we have the honor to submit for the approval of Parliament, is one entitled to their favorable consideration; not only that it is greatly within the amount voted by this House in 1873, and subsequently in 1874, for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but that it is a contract based upon figures low, as compared with those which these hon. gentlemen opposite, after all the experience that they had had in connection with this great work, regarded as altogether insufficient for its construction, without reference to the provision of a single dollar for the purpose of securing the operation of the road afterwards. Now, I am bound to say, I never felt more grateful to Parliament in my life than when, notwithstanding the startling statements made by those hon. gentlemen, this House placed 100,000,000 acres at the disposal of this Government for the purpose of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway. I knew that every intelligent man in this House, and out of it, regarded that measure as of vital importance to the country. I knew they felt it was a duty we owed to the country to grapple with this great work, notwithstanding the enormous liability it involved, and notwithstanding the enormous demands made upon the Treasury of the country. I knew that, obliged as we were to some extent to act upon the best judgment we could form, but to act experimentally, I knew it was a great demand to make upon Parliament for the Government to ask for permission to proceed with this great work. But we felt that, inasmuch as the construction of this road was required to develop the great North-West, inasmuch as it was absolutely

necessary to make that country what it could be made, and to increase the population and resources of the whole Dominion, that we were warranted in asking, at all events, that the lands otherwise useless should be utilized for the purpose of its construction. The House can understand we felt fully the responsibility of asking for this enormous amount of public money to be expended; but feeling as we did that when we had constructed the work from end to end, and were ready to operate it, the still heavier responsibility rested upon the country of providing the means of successfully operating that road, for no man could shut out of sight the serious responsibility that the operation of nearly 3,000 miles of railway through such a country would entail. But Parliament felt that the construction of this road was absolutely necessary to the development of Canada, and they generously gave to the Government the assistance we asked for; but they did it under the conviction that we intended to apply those lands in such a way as would ultimately secure the people of the older provinces against taxation for the purpose of constructing this railway. The Government, sensible of this generous feeling on the part of their supporters in this House in sustaining us, notwithstanding the fears and the alarm that it was sought to create in this House by hon. gentlemen opposite when they found themselves in a position to criticize the very measure for which they had asked the House to give them the power of carrying through, I say the House can understand the pleasure with which we meet the people of Canada through their representatives to-night, and are enabled to say that, by the means which we were authorized to use for the construction of this work, we are in a position to state not only that the entire construction from end to end, but that the responsibility of operating it hereafter is to be taken off the shoulders of Canada for the insignificant consideration of something like a cost to the country of a little over \$2,000,000 per annum, not commencing now, however, but that will be the ultimate cost assuming that we have to pay for ever the interest on all the moneys spent and required and what the Syndicate will obtain under this contract. When we are in a position not only to show that, but to show that out of the 100,000,000 acres of land that Parliament placed two years ago at our disposal, we have

75,000,000 acres left with which to meet the \$2,000,000 of interest, and that expenditure will be diminished, until at no distant day, we will not only have the proud satisfaction of seeing Canada assume an advanced and triumphant position, but that she will be relieved from the expenditure of a single dollar in connection with the construction or operation of this railway. I may say that I have been greatly gratified at the criticisms that have been bestowed upon the proposition we are submitting to Parliament. Nothing has given me more confidence in the soundness of our position and the impregnable attitude we occupy in Parliament or out of it, than the criticisms to which this scheme has been subjected by the press, as far as I have seen them. First, I may speak of the *Ottawa Citizen*. I find that in the criticism of that paper, to which, at all events, we were entitled to look for a fair and dispassionate criticism, the proprietor has evidently handed over his editorial columns not only to a hostile hand but to a disingenuous writer who was not willing to put the facts fairly before the country, and this strengthens me in my conviction of the soundness of the proposition we are submitting to Parliament. If that contract obtained objectionable features, to which the attention of Parliament might be called, and that were sufficient to condemn it, where was the necessity of the person who wrote the criticism in the *Citizen* mis-stating almost every clause of the contract that he commented upon, from beginning to end. I say nothing has more strengthened my conviction in the soundness of this measure; whether it was the *Ottawa Citizen*, from which I had hoped better things, or from the *Free Press*, from which I did not expect any better treatment, or the *Globe* newspaper of Toronto; and when I take up these papers and find that every criticism, every serious ground of attack, is based upon mis-statements of what the contract contains, I am confirmed in my opinion that they found that contract unimpeachable, and that a fair and candid criticism would compel them to give their adhesion to it. When I look at those criticisms I am minded of the position a gentleman would occupy who had made a contract for the construction of a *Great Eastern*, an enormous ship, greater in extent and involving a greater expenditure than any other ship that ever was built in the world. But, Sir, I am reminded of what would be the position of a man, who, after building a ship, and finishing it com-

plete in every respect, would be told by his employers that the ship was all right in design, material and workmanship, but that there was a little twist on the jolly boat which they did not like, and on that account they did not think they would take her. I say, Sir, that when we come down to Parliament with a great measure like this; when, Sir, we occupy a position in respect to the probable completion of the great work, which twelve months ago the most sanguine man in the country could not have hoped we would occupy—these hon. gentlemen hesitate. They say, although you have found gentlemen with great resources at their command, to go forward with an enterprise so essential to the progress of Canada; although that work is to be completed on a purely commercial basis—these gentlemen, turning their backs, as they have been obliged to do, upon their own declarations, again and again recorded—still complain of the arrangement which happily we have been enabled to place before Parliament. But for the remarks of hon. gentlemen opposite, which have led us to believe to the contrary, I should have thought that this was a measure for which I could have confidently asked the support, not only of those who usually support the Government, but of hon. gentlemen opposite, who stood committed by their votes, and the strongest possible statements of their leaders, to the support of terms for the construction of this work much less favorable than those embodied in the present contract. But, say these hon. gentlemen, we do not like the Company—and remarks are indulged in most insulting to gentlemen who compose the Syndicate.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Who said so?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The organ of the hon. gentlemen in this city.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Do you mean the *Citizen*?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Well, perhaps the *Citizen* is now the organ of hon. gentlemen opposite. I know that in the short space of twenty-four hours they were able to take the *Times* out of our hands by some means—a human device I believe they called it. But, Sir, I do not feel surprised that hon. gentlemen reject with scorn the imputation that the *Free Press* is their organ or speaks their sentiments—a journal that attempts to throw obloquy upon gentlemen of

high standing in Canada and in the United States and Europe. Hon. gentlemen do not like the Company, but one would suppose that their ideas had undergone a revolution upon that question. The gentlemen who have undertaken this work stand before the people of this country to-day in the strongest position that it is possible for gentlemen to occupy in relation to a great enterprise such as this. The Canadians engaged in the enterprise are men who are second to none in respect of commercial standing and capacity, and by their success in carrying out other great railway enterprises, they have afforded us the best possible guarantee for the manner in which they will fulfil their engagements with the Government and the Parliament of Canada. I may be told that the owners of the St Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, are members of this Syndicate; and, Sir, I am glad to know that that is the fact, and for this reason, I say that standing outside of this Association, they were in a position of antagonism to Canada, because they were the owners of a line of railway to the south of our great North-West, and of large tracts of fertile land contiguous to that railway. We all know that the great barrier to the successful development of the North-West was that in the absence of a Canadian Pacific Railway, our immigration was obliged to filter through the territories of the United States. The great efforts which have been made to secure immigration into the United States, and intercept those who were on their way to the North-West, have not been made by the Government of that country, or by the Legislatures of the States, but by the railway companies who have a personal interest in seducing these immigrants into their own territories. Why, Sir, we have annexed a large portion of the State of Minnesota to Canada in this way; and any man with a head on his shoulders will see at once that a company who have engaged to build or operate a road 650 miles from Thunder Bay to Nipissing, and who are to be the owners of one thousand miles of road, from Red River to Nipissing, cannot afford to do anything less than attract, along that route and from the railways to the south, all the trade that is possible, for that alone can make their enterprise successful. The interest which these gentlemen will have in the Canadian Pacific Railway will be tenfold greater than any interest they ever had in the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba line, and I care not what

their nationality may be, as the signatories of that contract Canada possesses in them the most undoubted evidence that they will spare no effort to secure traffic for the Canadian Pacific Railway. The hon. gentleman seemed to think that this Company would not bear the scrutiny and investigation which was desirable.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Who said so?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I hope I did not do the leader of the Opposition an injustice, when I thought that my mention of the Company was received, by him, in the way in which he usually receives a sentiment with which he does not agree.

Mr. BLAKE. I do not quite understand the hon. gentleman.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I say that this Company embraces capitalists, both of our own and other countries, who are men of the highest character; men, whose names are the best guarantees that could be offered the people of Canada, that any enterprise they may undertake will be successful. With regard to the terms of the contract, I do not hesitate to say that no greater injury could have been inflicted on the people of Canada than to have made the conditions of the agreement so onerous that instead of ensuring their successful fulfilment they would have led to failure. I say that the moment that contract is signed everything that we can do for the purpose of obtaining the best terms in our power has been done, always under the impression that we owed it to Canada to make a contract that was capable of fulfilment; to give those gentlemen a fair contract and afford them a fair opportunity of grappling with this great, this gigantic enterprise, that we were so anxious to transfer from our shoulders to theirs. And I would ask this House whether this being a contract involving the great business importance that it does, is one to sit down and cavil over, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, in relation to contracts, and to drive the most difficult bargain that could be driven, and perhaps lead to what occurred when we made the contract in 1873, with terms largely in excess of those that his contract contains? That was not a contract that was capable of fulfilment, because the parties were unable, in the then condition of the country, to raise the capital that was necessary. Now, we approach this question in that spirit,

and I would ask every member of this House if we should not be unworthy of representing the Parliament of Canada in the discharge of the public business, if we had not felt, in the interests of Canada, that this arrangement should be one that would obtain the command of the capital that was required, and that would enable the parties engaged in this great work to make it thoroughly successful as I trust it will be. We have reason to know that all that a command of capital can do they have the advantage of; we have reason to know that all that skill and energy and a knowledge of precisely such work will do, has been secured, in order to make this a successful contract, and I would ask hon. gentlemen opposite what more is desirable or necessary? I have referred to the position that those gentlemen occupy, but I would just ask hon. gentlemen opposite whether Canada would be likely to have this contract carried out with the success we all desire, expect, and hope for, if we had made the contract with the strongest body of capitalists that could be found in the city of London? What would you have had? We would have had, the first thing, an English engineer, with extravagant ideas, totally ignorant of the work and the construction of railways through such a country, and we would have had, at no distant day—no matter what their resources might be—a perfect failure in their hands, and, worse than that, you would have had discredit brought upon the country in consequence of the parties which had purchased their bonds, failing to obtain that interest which they justly expected from their investment. Whether you look at the American, the Canadian, or at the English, French or German gentlemen associated with this enterprise, I believe that Canada has been most fortunate, and the Government has been most fortunate, in having this work placed in their hands. It is stated that the security of one million dollars for the carrying out of the contract is too small. They say that a paid up capital of five millions of dollars within two years, and a deposit of one million dollars is too small. My opinion of security of this: that provided you get the parties who are most likely to deal successfully with the matter, the less security you demand the better. Because, just in proportion as you lock up the resources of the party, the more you decrease his power to carry on the work successfully.

Mr. BLAKE. In order to improve the situation, let us strike out the clause about the million dollars.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Of course, we are speaking within a certain latitude, and I would ask the hon. gentleman to turn his attention to what was a somewhat similar work constructed on this continent—the Union Pacific Railway—and I would ask him whether the capital of that company was larger, or whether the security given by them for the construction of the road was larger, than is now obtained with this Company? He may examine into the carrying out of some of those great works, and he will find that the security that the Government had in its confidence that the parties engaged in the project would carry them out to completion. The hon. gentleman will find that, under this arrangement, we have the best guarantee that these works will be pushed rapidly to completion under the contract as now proposed. This contract requires the parties to complete the road in ten years—that in July, 1891, it will be carried to completion—and I may say, Sir, that, although the leader of the Opposition has forgotten it, he took the liberty, a year ago, of expressing his opinion, and to a certain extent, I suppose, his sympathy, with the deplorable condition in which the members from the Province of Quebec found themselves. The hon. gentleman said that “Quebec had spent eleven millions of dollars, which she could ill afford, for the construction of a provincial railway, principally for the purpose of tapping the Pacific trade. Quebec had stretched out her arms towards the great west as far as this city, for the purpose of securing that trade, and the question is how soon that expenditure is to be made available. Her road is paying, as it is, what Quebec expected it should pay, some fraction of the interest on its construction; but they also expected that it would bear the great tide of western traffic into her principal cities, and bring prosperity to her people, but unless some through connection is made, these expectations, on the part of Quebec, would not be realized; that if the eastern end was not constructed until the western end was finished, he hoped they would all be alive to enjoy it.” I will not say that there was any sarcasm in these remarks. I will not say that the hon. gentleman was not shedding tears of sympathy when he was bemoaning the unhappy fate of Quebec. But where are Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island; and where is the Province of Ontario to-day? Why, they stand in a position, to-day, that a year ago we would have

been laughed at if we had ventured to predict it. If we had said a year ago that by this Session we would be enabled to provide a contract by which, in 1891, all the cities of these Provinces would have easy communication with the North-West Territories of Canada, it would have been considered impossible of attainment. What is of more vital importance to this Province and the cities of the east, Quebec, St. John and Halifax, than that they should have ready access to the North-West. The fact is that that great country, with its millions of fertile acres that yield abundant returns to the industry of the agriculturist, must, for years to come, during the development of those vast territories, depend upon the older Provinces for its manufactures. Therefore it is of vital importance to every section of Canada, and to no portion more than the North-West, that there should be easy, rapid and cheap communication established at an early day. Now, Sir, I will draw the attention of the House for a moment to what will be accomplished. The road is to be commenced on the first of July next at Callendar Station, near Lake Nipissing, and, under this contract, is to be proceeded with *pari passu*, at such an annual rate of progress as will secure through connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway by 1891. Now, with regard to the distance, everybody knows that the construction of this line will shorten the distance between all our great cities and Winnipeg, the present emporium of the North-West, by some 500 miles. But, assuming that we could go by the Sault Ste. Marie, in the absence of any line at the north of Lake Superior, the distance, by the Sault and Duluth, would be, from Nipissing to Sault Ste. Marie, 294 miles, from Sault Ste. Marie to Duluth 410 miles, and from Duluth *via* Emerson to Winnipeg 464 miles, making the total distance from Callendar Station to Winnipeg 1,168 miles. That was the shortest route which, twelve months ago, the Government were able to hold out any expectation of obtaining. Now, we propose to secure the construction of a through line, to be commenced on the first of July next, which will shorten that distance by 111 miles.

MR. BLAKE. That is 1,057 miles from Winnipeg to South-East Bay.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER. It is 1,006 miles from Nipissing, along Thunder Bay to Winnipeg, if you take the lake,

or, 1,057 miles by rail; the distance from Callendar Station to Linkoping, the station where the line will strike the Thunder Bay Branch, being 686 miles, and that from Linkoping to Winnipeg being 371 miles. So that the House will see we have the shortest possible line by which to reach Winnipeg. It will also see that the distance from Montreal to Callendar Station is 354 miles, while the distance from Toronto, by the Gravenhurst line, is 226 miles, or 128 miles less than that from Montreal. I may now advert for a moment to some of the objections which have been urged against this proposition. I am told that the standard is too low, that the standard of the Union Pacific Railway is a very unfavorable standard, and that we ought to have selected something higher. Well, it is very well, after having obtained the opportunity of making a contract, to make severe stipulations; but when I have stated to the House the terms under which these gentlemen have undertaken to construct this road, I think you will agree with me that they were entitled to as favorable consideration as we could give them. I should like to know what position the Government of Canada would have been in, who, after having offered \$84,000,000, in 1873, to the company of which Sir Hugh Allan was the president, should ask the gentlemen who were undertaking to do the same work for \$78,000,000 to make the terms more onerous than those of the previous contract. If any hon. gentleman will turn to the contract with the company of which Sir Hugh Allan was president, they will find that it provided that the standard of construction and equipment of the Canadian Pacific Railway should be the Union Pacific Railway, and, therefore, we have gone as far as any member of this House or any fair-minded man will say we ought to go, with reference to the standard. But what is this standard? Why, there are half-a-dozen leading roads in the United States to-day of which the standard is more objectionable in grades and curves than that of the Union Pacific Railway. Therefore, I think there is not much ground for cavil in that matter. When the Union Pacific Railway was built, the Government, who gave a much greater amount of aid to it than we are giving to this road, agreed that the standard of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway should be put in the contract as the standard of the Union Pacific, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, as

every one knows, is a road that is doing an enormous traffic and is regarded as a first-class road. The Portland and Ogdensburg Railway and half-a-dozen other American lines, have also a standard that cannot compare with the standard we have selected. I need not detain the House, therefore, by trying to show that it would have been utterly unreasonable for the Government of Canada to exact from these gentlemen, who were agreeing to construct this road at so much less terms than were agreed in the Allan contract, a higher standard than we have done. But we have a better guarantee than could be inserted in the contract, of the high standard of the road, and that is that these gentlemen are not constructing the road for the Government of Canada to work, but they are constructing it as their own property, and when it is constructed they have to furnish the means of maintaining and operating the road, and every disadvantage of a poor construction would fall upon them and not upon us. And, Sir, what would have been my position in demanding excessive terms in relation to the standard of the road, when they had in their hands my own statement—the statement of the Government of Canada, with all the resources of the country at our back—that we were compelled to lower the character of the road in order to construct a cheap line of railway, and that the lowest estimate we could make of the cost of such a work was \$80,000,000, or an excess of the whole amount they were obtaining both in money and land, computing the land at a dollar an acre? I think, therefore, Sir, that I need not detain the House by dealing with the question of the standard of the road. Nor, Sir, will I detain the House very long upon the other point that has been raised, and that is the mode upon which the money is being divided. I have shown the cost of the Pembina Branch at the lowest rate at which we can now put it, without all those buildings necessary, and which these gentlemen will have to construct at their own cost. If hon. gentlemen have paid any attention to the deplorable description that the First Minister gave us, a year ago, as to the difficulties they would have to surmount between Red River and the foot of the Rocky Mountains, I think they will come to the conclusion that the amount is not extravagant. I call the attention of the House to this fact. The Government want that road pushed through from Red River to the foot of the

Rocky Mountains as fast as it can be done. I have the authority of the leading gentlemen connected with the Syndicate to state in public that they intend the road to be complete at the foot of the Rocky Mountains at the end of three years from the present time. If it be thought a gigantic work to build 300 miles of railway by this powerful Syndicate in a year, I may tell hon. gentlemen for their information, that within the last year a few of these gentlemen completed between 200 and 300 miles of railway themselves through a somewhat similar country. And, therefore, it is not an extravagant statement for them to make in saying that they intend to construct the road to the foot of the Rocky Mountains in three years, and to build 300 miles of this road during the coming season. What does that involve? It involves the expenditure of an enormous amount of capital at the outset. The very moment this contract is ratified by Parliament, these gentlemen have to put their hands in their pockets and not only take therefrom a \$1,000,000 to deposit with us as security, but they have to put their hands into another pocket the next hour and take out another million to equip the road that is in operation, and that will be in operation within the course of the year. After reading the lachrymose statements of the hon. leader of the late Government about these lands and the difficulty of getting them sold, it is not unreasonable to suppose that, with all their energy and industry, it will take two or three years before they can make these lands to any large extent serviceable by a return of money from their sale. These gentlemen, have, therefore, at the outset, to lay out an enormous sum of money for equipment, in providing the plant necessary to construct and run that work during the coming three years, and they have, in the next place, to wait for a considerable period before they can receive any return for lands. At the end of the three years all that plant will, of course, be applicable to the other sections. I believe, therefore, the more it is examined the more it will be found that in the division of money no injustice has been done, and those who place confidence, not in us, but in the statement of the leader of the late Government, have only to take his own statements which I have read to-night, and that was his estimate of \$20,000 per mile for the portion to be constructed west of Red River, to perceive the advantage of the present proposed arrangement.

There is another million they have to put their hands into their pockets to pay us, and that is for the work we have constructed west of Red River and the material we have on hand applicable for the purposes of construction. Under the circumstances, the hon. gentlemen's minds will be relieved to know that we have made the very best division of the money. If the enterprise is to prove anything but a failure there is a great expenditure of money to be made at the very outset in bringing people to this country. I regard this proposal to secure the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway by the agency of the Company as of most vital importance from the point of view that, instead of having to struggle with railway companies in competition for immigrants, we will have a gigantic railway company with all its ramifications in the United States, France, Germany, and the British Islands, co-operating with the Government of Canada. But all that will involve a present outlay of a very large sum of money by these gentlemen. The only hope they can have of having any means of sustaining the railway, if it is constructed, is by getting a population as rapidly as possible into the fertile valleys of the North-West, and thus furnish the traffic which alone can support the operation of this railway. I am told that another very objectionable feature is the exemption of the lands from taxation. I have no hesitation in saying I would have been glad if that was not in the contract. If it were only to meet the strong prejudice that exists in this country on that question, I should have been glad if it were not in the contract; but there were two things we had to consider. One was to make the best bargain we could for Canada, and the other was not to impose terms that, without being of any material advantage to the country, would be likely to lead to disaster in the money markets of the world when the prospectus was placed on those markets. Every one will understand that the position in respect to the taxation is not changed in the slightest degree from that in which we were constructing this road as a Government work; when my hon. friend was constructing it by direct Government agency, no taxation could have been levied on these lands until they were utilized, until they were occupied. No province, municipality or corporation of any kind existing, or that could be created hereafter could impose the slightest tax on those lands until they were sold or occupied, and when they are sold or

occupied now, that moment they are liable to taxation. I will not stop to discuss the question of the road itself being exempt from taxation because hon. gentlemen have only to turn to the laws of the United States, and in reference to the construction of those great lines of railway anywhere, to find that the policy of the Government of the United States has always been that those lines of railway, the road-way, the road itself, the stations, everything embraced in the term railway, was exempt from taxation. One of the judges of the courts of the United States declared that as these great lines of road were national works, were public easements, that as they were for the benefit and advancement of the whole country, they should not be subject to any taxation, State or municipal. We have, therefore, only followed the practice that has prevailed in the United States and that which hon. gentlemen opposite will feel was incumbent upon us. What was our position? We were asking these gentlemen to come forward and take a position from which we shrank. I do not hesitate to say that great and important as the enterprise was, the Government felt it was one of enormous magnitude and trembled almost when they regarded the great cost of construction and the cost of maintenance and operation of the road when constructed. And I ask when we were shifting from our shoulders to the shoulders of a private company all the responsibility, I ask this House in candour to tell me whether they do not think that, as far as we could we ought to have put these gentlemen in as favorable a position for the construction of the road as we occupied ourselves. That is all we have done; and as I have said before, the moment the lands are utilized they become liable to taxation. I have been told that the lands of the Canada Company being free from taxation it were found that they were attended with a good deal that was objectionable.

Mr. MACKENZIE. They were not free from taxation.

Mr. BLAKE. They were only ordinary large landholders.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Oh, it was owned in large blocks. Then the case is not half as bad.

Mr. BLAKE. No; this is much worse.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I supposed it was because they were free from taxation. Well, we have taken care they

shall not own them in blocks. We have met the difficulty and covered it. But, as I said before, these gentlemen must sell their lands. It is impossible to sustain the road without bringing a population into the country as rapidly as possible. It is said this is a gigantic monopoly. You not only free the lands from taxation until occupied but you create a monopoly. If we have one strong point in our case, it is this, that under the terms of the Allan contract of 1873, 54,000,000 acres of land were locked up, if you call it locked up, by being placed in the hands of a company. Under this contract 25,000,000 acres of land only are to be reserved. Under the Allan contract of 1873, and the terms of the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1874, those parties were entitled to have their land in large blocks of 20 miles square, and under this contract the Government have possession of every alternate mile over the whole section and along the whole line of railroad. Can there be any monopoly? Why, under the terms of the Allan contract the Government was bound, as the Government of the United States was bound in relation to the Northern Pacific Railway, to abstain from selling an acre under \$2.50. Under this contract, however, we are free to give away every acre that remains in our possession should the public interest warrant it. No policy did the Syndicate press more strongly upon us than that of settling the land as fast as we could. They say we should be only too glad to plant a free settler upon every acre belonging to the Government. We hold, on the monopoly point, that instead of 54,000,000 acres being locked up in blocks of 20 miles on each side of the road, instead of our being bound to sell at no less than \$2.50 an acre, we can open up to free settlement the 29,000,000 acres the Government retains to utilize in the interest of the country, over and above the amount given the Syndicate, or can sell at prices below the minimum fixed by the terms of 1874. What about the terms of a year ago? Read the resolution Parliament passed here for the appropriation of 100,000,000 acres and you will see how absolutely Parliament placed them at the disposal of the Government, for use in any way possible to secure the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Instead of having handed over to a monopoly, as it may be called, those 100,000,000 acres, we held 75,000,000 acres in our own hands to be used for promoting the interest of Canada by free settlement and by

sales, to return to us the money required to be paid under the contract, to the Syndicate \$25,000,000. As I said before, the question of freedom from taxation of lands is not new. In 1870 an Act was passed in the United States for the relief of the International Railroad Company, now consolidated under the name of the International and Great Northern Railroad Company, which provides, similarly to what has been enacted as regards other railroad companies in various states of the Union, that the lands of the company shall be free from taxation. The United States Government has given great land grants to railways under what is called the head grant system, and in one case a company was authorized to select any part of the public lands of Texas, that magnificent country that has excited the admiration of hon. gentlemen opposite, the most beautiful and fertile areas, without any hindrance or any responsibility whatever. The company received "20 sections of 640 acres each of the unappropriated lands of the State for each mile of railroad which has been or may hereafter be constructed pursuant to the Act of 1870. The said company, its successors and assigns to have the right to locate the said lands as head rights certificates, without the necessity of alternating the sections; the said lands and certificates to be released from all county, state, municipal and other taxes for a period of twenty-five years." The moment our lands, however, are sold they become liable to taxation. Under that United States law they remain free for twenty-five years after coming into the hands of private purchasers. There is nothing of the kind here. The moment our lands are utilized or sold, and the Company cannot afford to keep them from settlement, which will add more to the value of the remainder than is possible in any other way, they fall under taxation. The location of the railway, it appears, is objected to. But, under the terms of this contract, the location is to be submitted for the approval of the Governor in Council. I do not hesitate to say that this Company will be much better able to locate the road than the Government. They have a more vital, personal, direct interest in putting it through, and best know how to make it shortest, consistent with its best location. Government cannot give the matter that personal, direct attention as the body of gentlemen as familiar with such works as are the members of the Syndicate. In my judgment, therefore, it is not neces-

sary there should be the restriction this Act provides, that is, that the Governor in Council should have the right of decision ; because, I believe, their own interest will compel them to make the best possible location. But, we have provided that, by maintaining a general control of the Governor in Council over the work, that not one mile of the road shall be located without their consent. I am told that great objection is made to the power of the Company, to build branch lines. Is the House aware that, in the United States, all the powers given this Syndicate, which comes forward to take the place of the Government and relieve it of responsibility, in regard to this work, are enjoyed by everybody or every company building a railroad. All that such persons require to do, is to organize a company, under the general law, register themselves, and go and build a railroad wherever they like, with such privileges in their favour.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Do the same thing in your North-West.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman will see, that, as to the last objection that can be made to our policy, he has anticipated me, because I intended giving him credit for the liberal spirit with which he dealt with the branch lines—I mean by the Bill submitted, containing the policy of the late Government, upon which, of course, the Opposition will not go back. In the State of Minnesota—and everywhere else across the line—branch lines can be built by any persons wherever they desire. We have merely given to this Company a power, any and every person can enjoy in the United States. The hon. member for Lambton is the last source from which I should have expected opposition to this policy.

Mr. MACKENZIE. What policy?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The policy of allowing the Syndicate the privilege of constructing branch lines in connection with the road.

Mr. MACKENZIE. You prohibit everybody else.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. There is no such prohibition. This remark is only an evidence of the difficulty, the dilemma in which hon. gentlemen opposite find themselves in. Because they can find no legitimate objections to this policy, they must manufacture them. There is no such provision in the Bill—not a line giving a monopoly to those gentlemen,

and this Parliament has power to-day and will have power next year, after they have ratified this policy, to empower any persons whatever to construct lines in any part of the North-West. What did the Bill submitted by the Minister of the Interior for the late Government provide with regard to the construction of railroads in the North-West—a bill which embodied the wisdom of the Government of which he was a member? It first provides that any person may construct a railway in the North-West wherever they choose. They may organize under provisions similar to those under which parties in the United States may construct branch lines. It went further. We have not given these gentlemen a dollar with which to construct branches. We propose to give them the right of way for branch lines free, and shall only be too glad to do so if they run branches from one end of the country to the other. We felt it was in the interest of the country to give them every facility possible for the strengthening of the trunk line and the opening of such volumes of traffic over it as are indispensable to the prosperity of the country, and as must increase the value of our lands beyond any other influence. Not one dollar can they spend in the construction of branches that will not pour large sums into the treasury of Canada, by increasing the value of its lands in their neighborhood. But the Bill of the late Government did not leave the cost of their construction on the Company. The Government generously came to their aid. Everybody could go on and build branches and come with his little bill to the Government for payment. What does the Act say?

“The Governor in Council may reserve every alternate section of ungranted lands to the extent of ten sections per mile, five on each side, exclusive of the sections which, under the Dominion Lands Act, may have been reserved as school sections or allotted to the Hudson Bay Company for the purposes of this Act.”

That was as bonus to these gentlemen for construction of this branch line.

“Or, should the Governor in Council deem it expedient, instead of conveying lands to the Company, the Company may be paid the moneys received from the sale of lands on the line of and within six miles of such railway, from time to time, until the Company shall have received a sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars per mile.”

Giving a claim to every man who built a mile of it, to come to the treasury of Canada, and demand \$10,000, and yet, with this strong declaration uttered on the floor of the

House and placed on the public records of the country, they venture to challenge the soundness of the judgment of the Government of Canada to permit parties, without one dollar's aid or one acre of land to construct branch lines for the opening up and development of the North-West. Well, Sir, it is said that a great enormity has been committed by the prohibition to construct lines running in any other direction than a certain one, south-west and west by south-west. Well, Sir, I am a little surprised to hear any such objection, and I shall listen with great interest to the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House if they have any objection of that kind to make. A year ago, Sir, a company with perhaps as strong claims to consideration as it would be possible for any company to have on the Parliament of Canada, came to us for permission to construct a railway. They asked for no money, they asked no aid; they only asked for permission to construct a railway of a certain kind, why did we refuse it? Why, Sir, we were very sorry to refuse it, but, the Government having taken the subject into careful consideration, decided that, inasmuch as Canada was dealing with the construction of the great Canadian Pacific Railway, and inasmuch as the only hope of maintaining this road, and of operating it after it was built, was to retain the traffic of the Canadian North-West on the trunk line, we came to the conclusion that it was not in the interests of the country, however greatly any section might demand or need it, to construct a line which would carry traffic of the North-West out of our country and leave our trunk line, the Canadian Pacific, which had cost the country such a great sum of money, denuded of the traffic necessary to sustain it. Well, Sir, that policy was announced and deliberately adopted by the Government, and it was my duty, as the Minister of Railways, to submit it to the small Parliament upstairs, the Railway Committee. That Committee, Sir, embraces a great body of gentlemen on both sides of the House, who are prepared to give great consideration and bring their judgment to bear in relation to the questions. I think that it contains 100 members.

Sir LEONARD TILLEY. Ninety-five.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The number is 95, I say that is a small parliament, and when I submitted the deliberate judgment of the Government on this point, to refuse, so far

as we were able, to allow that charter to pass, the policy of the Government was adopted by the Committee without a single dissentient voice.

Mr. MACKENZIE. I dissented for one.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman says he dissented, then he was greatly misunderstood. I heard no dissent, but more than that a deputation who came down from Emerson to seek assistance, told me, a short time ago, that they had an interview with the hon. gentleman, and that they could not get any more satisfaction from him than they could obtain from the Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE. I have no power to give assistance.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Then, Sir, all that I can say is, that the hon. gentleman failed in the discharge of the duty of his high position, as one of the leading members of this Parliament, if he, on an occasion when the Government policy on a great national question was submitted before the Railway Committee, retains his opinion to himself, and does not give that Committee the benefit of his judgment and experience.

Mr. MACKENZIE. I firmly expressed my dissent.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Sir, the hon. gentleman does not generally dissent in such a mild way as to prevent me from remembering it; and all I can say is, that if he dissented he did it so gently that it had passed entirely from my recollection, and I hold that this Government, in devolving the duty of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway on the shoulders of the Syndicate, could not reasonably say, the rights which the Government of Canada maintained and publicly declared they had maintained in the interests of Canada, and in protection of the traffic of the Canadian Pacific Railway, they shall be withheld from you, and now that the possibility of maintaining that traffic is placed upon your shoulders we do not care where the traffic goes. I say that the interest which we have to-day, as Canadians, in that railway in their possession is the same national interest, to bring every pound of the traffic of the North-West which we can bring down through the heart of Canada, and down to the sea board in our own country,—as I trust in no distant day will be the case. Well, Sir, the hon. member brought up the question of rates,

the other day, in the speech which he delivered to the House on the Address. I could then quite understand that the hon. gentleman was about to place our anchor to windward. and when the hon. gentleman dragged in the question of rates on railways into the discussion the other day, I quite understood that there was a deliberate design in it—to forestall the public mind in relation to this matter. Every person knows the great complaints that have been made, owing to the disproportionate rates which have been adopted on railways in the United States running through the prairies. But, Sir, what is our position with relation to the matter. Why, Sir, we have taken power by this contract, which, under the Consolidated Railway Act on the Statute-book, we do not possess. So far from having yielded anything with relation to rates, the Governor in Council retains power to levy these rates. Not a rate can be collected, not a cent can be collected by that Company for anything on their road, until the Government which is responsible to this House, whoever they may be, have given their sanction to what they believe to be just, and in the interest of the country. And, Sir, having retained the power, what more did we do? Why, Sir, we ascertained that, according to the law, Parliament itself had not the power, after the rate was fixed, to reduce it, unless it could be shewn that the Company were getting fifteen per cent. on the capital. We, in this contract, have changed that, and have deprived the Company of the power, which, under the Consolidated Railway Act, they and every other railway in the country enjoyed, and stipulated a lower rate of profit as the point at which they may be asked to lower their rates. I think, under these circumstances that the hon. gentleman's long discussion on a question that was certainly not before the House was hardly called for.

MR. ANGLIN. Is the profit to be taken upon the capital of the Company or upon the whole money expended upon the construction of the road, because there is a great difference?

SIR CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman will be greatly relieved to find that it is not so bad as he had hoped. It is upon the capital they have expended themselves.

MR. BLAKE. Under the terms of the contract, for there is a doubt about it?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That is a question of law, upon which I will defer to the hon. gentleman. He has the contract before him, and whatever want of confidence I may have in his political sentiments, I have great confidence in his legal ability. I will not require to say anything more about that. I am told that some gentlemen are afraid that difficulty will be caused by the clause of the contract which requires the Government to hold in certain contingencies, which may or may not arise, twenty-five millions of dollars at four per cent. interest. Suppose we had said to the late Minister of Finance a year ago that we expected in twelve months to be in a condition in which, instead of paying five per cent., as we are paying now, we should be able to sell bonds at four per cent. interest without any discount or commission. Suppose we had ventured to tell the hon. gentlemen that we expected in twelve months, to be in the condition of being able to obtain all the money that Canada required for its development, and to redeem the bonds issued at five and six per cent. as fast as they became due at four per cent, without a farthing being paid for commission, they would have laughed at us. But it is a fact staring them in the face, and when we entered into the contract we found that we occupied a position that was likely to furnish us with all the money we wanted. The able Finance Minister, my hon. colleague, told us that he could handle that twenty-five millions of money in such a way as to be eminently advantageous to the interests of Canada, if he is called upon to hold it, and it was only after learning that that we agreed to take it upon these terms. I think therefore I need hardly detain the House upon that subject. With reference to the telegraph I am told that there is an objection on that point, but surely no person would have expected the Government of Canada to make a contract with a company who were bound to construct in ten years a road from the Red River to Kamloops, and a road from Nipissing to Thunder Bay, and operate some 3,000 miles of road, without the power to erect and operate a telegraph. Such a thing would, I think, be unheard of, and when I tell the House that instead of having a monopoly the Government of Canada, at this moment, retains the Canadian Pacific Telegraph in their own hands, and that these parties have not acquired a dollar's worth of rights in the telegraph which has been contracted for, at a sum a

little in excess of one million of dollars; when I tell the House that we retain the ownership of our own line of telegraph, it will see that unless terms are made for the transaction of general business, and for taking over our lines upon terms in the interest of Canada, we are in a position to carry out and complete our own line and make it a very sharp competition indeed. Now, Sir, I am glad to say that I am able to bring my remarks to a conclusion, but before doing so, I will ask the House to indulge me for a moment whilst I read an extract from the *Winnipeg* correspondence of the *Toronto Globe* of November 25th:

"So much has been said and written about the size and fertility of the North-West that it is scarcely necessary to repeat any of it here. Prof. Macoun's recent explorations fully demonstrate the fact that there are about 250,000,000 of acres embraced within Manitoba and the North-West Territories. A mere fraction of this is as yet settled, so that there are still homes in the North-West for millions of people. For two hundred miles west most of the good land has been taken up, but beyond that point there is any quantity of the richest land, much of it not even surveyed. The quality of the soil throughout these territories is almost uniformly good. In many places it is surpassed. In the Red River Valley, near Winnipeg, farms have been cropped for fifty years, without the aid of manure. Further west the soil is somewhat lighter, but, in the opinion of many, better adapted for general farming purposes. There is a considerable quantity of waste land, if we take it in the aggregate, but comparatively the percentage is not large, and much of what is now waste land will be reclaimed by drainage before the country is a generation older."

Now, Sir, I draw attention to that for the purpose of showing the hon. gentlemen opposite how small a portion of these fertile lands in the great North-West is absorbed by the twenty-five millions of acres which under this contract we give to the Syndicate. I draw the attention of gentlemen opposite to this, because it was one of the subjects of discussion a year ago. I ventured to state from the best authority, for we had expended a large amount of money for surveys, &c., and a number of able men had investigated this subject of the lands of the North-West, that 150 millions of acres of good land lay between the west of Manitoba and the Rocky Mountains, between the 49th and 57th parallels of the north latitude, and hon. members opposite doubted it. Now we find that Professor Macoun, who is one of the most able explorers and one of the best qualified men to form a judgment upon the matter, and who has spent the last season in going over the country, found that that great Missouri section of barren country which was supposed to extend into Canada in the North-West, was in

a great measure valuable and fertile land. He found that the idea that it was a desert was an entire delusion, and that instead of that a great portion of these lands, thirty millions of acres, which were supposed to be unfit for settlement are largely fit for settlement, and they are included in the contract in the lands "fairly fit for settlement." Under these circumstances the House will see that this land has been very much under-estimated. Before I conclude, there is another point that I want to refer to. It is charged against the Government, and it is the last charge in the world that I hope any person will ever be able to sustain against them—it is a charge of not being true to the National Policy. If the Government of Canada, with the evidence of the past two years before them, were to be faithless to the National Policy, they would deserve to be driven from power by the execration of every true-hearted Canadian. I say this is about the last charge that should have been made, but I am told they have given under the contract rights and privileges which are fatal to the National Policy. There is nothing in the law, nothing in the Statute-book that enables one cent of duty to be collected for any thing that has been used for the purpose of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway. Not one cent.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Did the contractors pay the duty ?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Certainly, but they were building the railway for us, and they were paid an amount that it was estimated would pay them for the work they performed and give them a profit. But every locomotive, every car for the railway that we imported for ourselves, as we have done, could not by any law that is on the Statute-book be charged with duty. So that there is no ground of complaint upon that point. But, Sir, that is not the contract. The contract provides only for the admission free of duty of all steel rails, fish-plates and other fastenings, spikes, bolts, wire, timber and all materials for bridges to be used in the original construction of the railways and telegraph line in connection therewith. Now, Sir, what is the duty collected on now ? Steel rails are free under the law.

Mr. MACKENZIE. For how long ?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. So long as the steel rails are not manufactured in this country, for the purpose of

supplying our own country. The Government felt that the construction of railways was so vitally important to the development of Canada, that they made an exception of steel rails, saying that while steel rails were not manufactured in this country they should be admitted free. Therefore, this limits it to the bolts, nuts, wire, timber and material for bridges. Well, Sir, we carefully considered that by admitting iron for bridges free of duty, we would probably have the bridges constructed of iron instead of wood. But is there a member of this House who fails to see that if we had not made such a provision, we only had to import these articles to make them free? I may say that under this contract the position of industries of Canada and of the National Policy is better than before. The Government intended in this matter, as in everything else, to be true to that great National Policy which lifted Canada out of the condition of depression in which our country was, and placed it in as prosperous a condition as any country occupied, that policy which has increased the credit of our country by changing deficits into handsome surpluses, that policy which has vitalized the industries of Canada, set money into circulation, commercial enterprises in operation and created industries from one end of Canada to the other, to an extent that the most sanguine advocate of the National Policy did not venture to anticipate. We would be faithless to the country and to the position we occupy, if we did not, in everything to which we put our hands, maintain this policy in its integrity that Canada may continue to prosper and flourish as at present. In regard to that question I may say that the Minister of Finance will be prepared to submit a measure to deal with this very point, by which the manufacture of everything that can be constructed in Canada for the purposes of the Canada Pacific Railway will be provided for in our own country. Now, Sir, I am glad that I shall not be compelled to trespass farther upon the attention of the House. When I rose I expressed the pride and pleasure it gave me as a member of the Government of Canada to be able, in the year 1880, to propound to Parliament a measure for its adoption which will secure in ten years the construction of the Pacific Railway, upon terms more favorable than the most enthusiastic friend of the railway had ventured to hope this Parliament would have the opportunity of putting its seal of ratification to.

I have read at some length the able and eloquent statements of hon. gentlemen opposite to show that no men are more bound, as honorable and patriotic statesmen, to give this measure their hearty support than those gentlemen themselves. I am glad to know that if ever there were a measure presented for the consideration of this House, worthy and likely to receive its hearty adoption, it is the measure I have the honor of submitting for its consideration. I have the satisfaction of knowing that throughout this intelligent country every man breathed more freely when he learned that the great, enormous, undertaking of constructing and operating the railway was to be lifted from the shoulders of the Government, and the liability the country were going to incur was to be brought within, not over the limit which in its present financial condition it is prepared to meet; within such limits that the proceeds from the sale of the land to be granted by Parliament for the construction of the line, would wipe out all liabilities at no distant day. But this is the slightest consideration in reference to this question. It is a fact that under the proposals now submitted for the Parliament to consider, this country is going to secure the construction and operation of the gigantic work which is to give new life and vitality to every section of this Dominion. No greater responsibility rests upon any body of men in this Dominion, than rests upon the Government of Canada, placed as it is in a position to deal with the enormous work of the development of such a country as Providence has given us; and I say we should be traitors to ourselves and to our children if we should hesitate to secure on terms such as we have the pleasure of submitting to Parliament the construction of this work, which is going to develop all the enormous resources of the North-West, and to pour into that country a tide of population which will be a tower of strength to every part of Canada, a body of industrious and intelligent men who will not only produce national as well as individual wealth in that section of the Dominion, but will create such a demand for the supplies which must come from the older provinces, as will give new life and vitality to every industry in which those Provinces are engaged. Under these circumstances, we had a right to expect that support, which, in justice to themselves and their position as statesmen, hon. gentlemen opposite should give us. I say, Sir, that looking at this matter from

a party point of view—the lowest point of view—I feel that these gentlemen, by following the course they propose, are promoting the interests of the party now in power, just as they promoted our interests when they placed themselves in antagonism to the National Policy, which the great mass of the people desired. But I say I am disappointed at their course. I regret it, notwithstanding that it conduces to the interests of our own party. On past occasions I made the most earnest appeal in my power to those gentlemen to sink on one great national question partizan feelings, and to enable both sides of this House and both parties of this country to unite in a great measure that did not require to be dragged down into the arena of party, and which would be promoted, and largely promoted by a combination of both of the great parties in this country. The hon. gentlemen refused to respond to that appeal, and therefore I will not waste time on the present occasion by pointing out to them how desirable it is now; but I did hope when we abandoned this railway as a Government work, and when it became a commercial undertaking it would be otherwise; and one of the reasons—one of the great necessities for changing our base, one of the great necessities to place this work on a commercial footing at the earliest opportunity—was that we became aware, from the events of the last two Sessions, that while we dealt with it as a Government railway it was to be dragged down from its high position to the arena of partizan politics. In order to obstruct the Government, in order to prevent our carrying out the policy as we were carrying it out, these gentlemen were driven to assume the unpatriotic attitude of decrying the credit and capabilities of our country and damaging the prospects of this great work. I am glad that we have triumphed over such opposition, and that despite that obstruction we have surmounted the great difficulty—that despite all the obstruction they could throw in our way, the time has come when enlightened capitalists, best acquainted with the resources of Canada, are prepared to throw themselves into the construction of this great railway. I say, I was in hopes now that we have abandoned it as a Government work and it is placed on a commercial foundation, that those gentlemen could, without loss to party prestige, unite with us on this great question and on giving to this Syndicate, who are charged with this important and

onerous undertaking, that fair, handsome and generous support that men engaged in a great national work in any country are entitled to receive at the hands, not only of the Government of the country, but of every patriotic member of Parliament. Sir, I say I have been disappointed, but I hope upon future reflection, at no distant day, when the results of this measure which we are now submitting for the approval of Parliament, and which I trust and confidently expect will obtain the sanction of this House, will be such as to compel these gentlemen, openly and candidly to admit that in taking the course which we have followed, we have done what is calculated to promote the best interests of the country, and that it has been attended with a success exceeding our most sanguine expectations. I can only say, in conclusion, after some five-and-twenty years of public life, I shall feel it the greatest source of pleasure that the quarter of a century has afforded me, as I am satisfied that my right hon. friend beside me will feel, that it crowns the success of public life, that while Premier of this country his Government were able to carry through Parliament a measure of such inestimable value to the progress of Canada; so I can feel, if I have no other bequest to leave to my children after me, the proudest legacy I would desire to leave is the record that I was able to take an active part in the promotion of this great measure by which, I believe, Canada will receive an impetus that will make it a great and powerful country at no distant date.
